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Women's Collective Action and the Village Law :

How Women are Driving Change and Shaping Pathways for Gender-Inclusive Development in Rural Indonesia

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Rachael Diprose, Amalinda Savirani, Ken M.P. Setiawan and Naomi Francis

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Glossary of Acronyms and Terms

Adat	Customary law, customs, traditions and norms
APBDes	*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Desa* village budget allocation
'Aisyiyah	'Aisyiyah is an autonomous mass women's organisation originally established in 1917, it is affiliated with Muhammadiyah and has a membership base of between 10 and 15 million women—MAMPU Partner
Badan Permusyawaratan Desa (BPD)	Village Consultative Council, formally known as *Badan Perwakilan Desa*—Village Representative Council
BaKTI	*Bursa Pengetahuan Kawasan Timur Indonesia* Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange Foundation, MAMPU Partner
Bantuan Langsung Tunai	BLT, Unconditional Cash Transfer Program
Bappeda	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah* District Development Planning Agency
Bappelitbangda	*Badan Perencanaan, Pembangungan, Penelitian, dan Pengembangan Daerah* District Planning, Development, Research and Improvement Agency
Bappenas	*Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional Republik Indonesia* National Development Planning Agency
BITRA	*Bina Ketrampilan Pedesaan Indonesia* Indonesian Foundation for Rural Capacity Building, MAMPU Partner
BPJS	*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial* National healthcare schemes
BSA	*Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah* Women's Groups supported by 'Aisyiyah
BUMDes	*Badan Usaha Milik Desa* Village-owned enterprise managed by village governments
Bupati	District Head (sometimes referred to as Regent)
CSO(s)	Civil Society Organisation(s)—for this report includes mass organisations
Dana Desa	Village Fund
DAMAR	*Lembaga Advokasi Perempuan* Women's Advocacy Institute, a member of PERMAMPU —MAMPU Partner
DESBUMI	*Desa Peduli Buruh Migran* Villages that Care for Migrant Workers Migrant CARE initiative providing integrated services for migrant workers and their families and information on how to safely undertake migration for work.
Dinas	Government office or agency
Dinas KBPPA	*Dinas Keluarga Berencana, Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak* District Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office
Dinkes	*Dinas Kesehatan* Health Office
Disnakertrans	*Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi* Provincial Employment and Transmigration Agency
DPPKBP3A	*Dinas Pengendalian Penduduk, Keluarga Berencana, Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak* District Office of Population Control, Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection
DPMD	*Dinas Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Desa* Office for People and Village Empowerment
Dusun	Hamlet, villages are comprised of multiple *dusun*
Fahmina Institute	Islamic organisation established in West Java in 2000, focuses on civil society and community empowerment
FAKTA	Forum for sharing of health information established by Catholic Church in Lampung, South Sumatra in the 1980s, later partnered with DAMAR, one of the founding members of the Sumatran consortium of women's organisations called PERMAMPU
Fatayat	Young women's branch of Islamic mass organisation Nahdlatul Ulama
FPL	*Forum Pengada Layanan* Forum for Service Providers, MAMPU Partner
Institut KAPAL Perempuan	*Lingkaran Pendidikan Alternatif Perempuan* The Institute for Women's Alternative Education, MAMPU Partner established in 2000
Itsbat nikah	Marriage verification Legal process to verify informal and unregistered marriages
Jaringan Wanita Katolik	Catholic Women's Organisation
JKN	*Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional* National Health Insurance
Karang Taruna	Youth organisations at the village or urban village-level

Kepala Desa (Kades)	Village Head
Kecamatan Development Program (KDP)	Initially implemented in 1998–2002 and then in further iterations until 2006. KDP supported approximately 20,000 villages to introduce community-driven approaches to infrastructure projects
Kelurahan	Urban precinct (similar to a village)
Kemendes	*Kementerian Desa, Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal dan Transmigrasi* Ministry of Villages, Development, Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration
KK	*Kartu Keluarga* Family Identification Card
KK	*Kelompok Konstituen* BaKTI established constituent groups
KLIK Program **KLIK PEKKA**	*Klinik Layanan Informasi dan Konsultasi* Village Consultation and Information Service Clinics
Komnas HAM	*Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia* National Commission on Human Rights
Komnas Perempuan	*Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan* National Commission on Violence Against Women
KOMPAK	*Kolaborasi Masyarakat dan Pelayanan untuk Kesejahteraan* "Governance for Growth", collaboration between Government of Australia and Indonesia to achieve poverty reduction targets
KPI	*Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* Indonesian Women's Coalition, MAMPU Partner
KTP	*Kartu Tanda Penduduk* National identity Card
KPS2K	*Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan* Women's Groups and Sources of Life Organisation, sub-national partner of KAPAL Perempuan in Pangkajene and Islands District, South Sulawesi
KUA	*Kantor Urusan Agama* Office of Religious Affairs
Kuwu	Village Head in Cirebon
KWT	*Kelompok Wanita Tani* Women's Farmers Groups
LBH APIK	*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan* Legal aid foundation which focuses on advocacy for women, including reducing violence against women
LBK	*Lembaga Berbasis Komunitas* Community-Based Forums
LSPDM	*Lembaga Peningkatan Sumber Daya Manusia,* Institute for Increasing Human Resources
Mawar Balqis	Women's Crisis Centre—a subnational partner of FPL in Cirebon
Migrant CARE	MAMPU national partner, developed an initiative at the village level called the DESBUMI
MusDes	*Musyawarah Desa* Village decision-making forum in which decisions are made based on deliberation and consensus
MusDus	*Musyawarah Dusun* Hamlet-level consensus and deliberation decision-making meetings
Muslimat	Nahdlatul Ulama mass Islamic women's organisation
Musrenbang	*Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan* Development Planning Consultative Meeting
Musrenbangda	*Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan Daerah* District Development Planning Consultative Meeting
Musrenbangdes	*Musyawarah Rencana Pembangunan Desa* Village Development Planning Consultative Meeting
National Community Empowerment Program	*Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, PNPM Mandiri* Implemented from 2007–2014, this program scaled up community driven methodologies used in the KDP to reach 65,000 villages
NTB	*Nusa Tenggara Barat* West Nusa Tenggara Province
NTT	*Nusa Tenggara Timur* East Nusa Tenggara Province
NU	*Nahdlatul Ulama*, Mass traditionalist Islamic organisation which runs education, health, and religious services
OPD	*Organisasi Perangkat Daerah* Regional government office or organisation
P2TP2A	*Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak* Integrated Service Centre for the Empowerment of Women and Children
PAD	*Pendapatan Asli Daerah* District revenue raised from taxes and levies on economic activities used to fund programs

Panca Karsa	*Perkumpulan Panca Karsa* The Panca Karsa Association—a subnational partner of Migrant CARE
PAUD	*Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* Early Childhood Education (centres)
PDI-P **PDI Perjuangan**	*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle
Pendamping Desa	Village assistant employed by the Ministry of Villages to increase community empowerment in villages
PEKKA	*Program Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga* Female-Headed Families Empowerment Foundation
Pekka	*Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga* Community-based union/group of female family heads focused on empowerment
Pengajian	Communal listening to Islamic sermons and reading the Qur'an
Perda	*Peraturan daerah* District or provincial regulation
Perbup	*Peraturan bupati* District head regulation
Pergub	*Peraturan gubunur* Governor regulation
PERMAMPU	*Konsorsium Perempuan Sumatra MAMPU* Consortium of women's groups in Sumatra
Pesantren	Islamic boarding schools
PKH	*Program Keluarga Harapan* Family Hope Program
PKK	*Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarg*a Family Welfare and Empowerment Organisation
PMD	*Dinas Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa* District Office of Village Community Empowerment
Posyandu	*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu* Integrated Health Post, a monthly maternal and child health clinic at the grassroots level
Prolegnas	*Program Legislasi Nasional* National Legislative Agenda
Puskesmas	*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat* Community Health Centre
RKPDesa	*Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Desa*, Village Government Work Plan
RW	*Rukun Warga* Division under *dusun* or *kelurahan*
Sekolah Perempuan	Women's Schools established by KAPAL Perempuan and their partners
SPI	*Serikat Perempuan Independen* Independent Women's Union in Labuhan Batu, North Sumatra—a subnational partner of FPL
SPPR	*Sekolah Peningkatan Kapasitas Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan* – School for Increasing Women Homeworkers' Capacity BITRA training and awareness program in Deli Serdang research village.
TP PKK	*Ketua Pembina PKK*, Head of Guidance for the PKK mobilisation team
TTU	*Timor Tengah Utara* North Central Timor
UPT	*Unit Pelayanan Terpadu* Integrated Service Unit, established jointly by FAKTA-DAMAR, provincial and district governments, law-enforcement, and healthcare services
YABIKU	*Yayasan Amnaut Bife "Kuan"* Village Women's Care Foundation—a subnational partner of FPL
Yasanti	*Yayasan Annisa Swasti,* Annisa Swasti Foundation, MAMPU Partner
YKPM	*Yayasan Pengkajian dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation, sub-national partner of KAPAL Perempuan in Makassar

Executive Summary

Background

Over the past two decades, significant efforts have been undertaken by Indonesian women, civil society organisations (CSOs), other mass organisations, as well as various government ministries and subnational offices to reduce inequalities in Indonesia, including gender disparities, through policies, poverty alleviation programs, community driven development approaches and community organising initiatives. While notable achievements in gender inclusion and increasing women's influence have been made over the past two decades, improvements have been incremental and uneven, particularly in rural areas.

In 1999 (enacted in 2001), significant authority for decision making and associated budgets was devolved to district governments (and some more limited authority to provinces) through Indonesia's regional autonomy Laws.[1] In 2014, Indonesia embarked on an ambitious agenda to devolve further authority for local development to village authorities through the Village Law, with budgets directly channelled to nearly 75,000 villages across the archipelago to implement local-level initiatives. The introduction of the 2014 Village Law might therefore be considered the third arm of decentralisation in the ways it bolsters decentralised decision making across the archipelago.

The 2014 Village Law sought to clarify the status of villages within Indonesia's governance structure but also to firmly entrench participatory community decision-making in determining village development priorities. Under the new Law, village and customary diversity across the archipelago is recognised and the goal of poverty reduction in village development is emphasised, to be implemented in ways that are gender-equitable and based on democratic decision making. With a designated annual budget of some USD75,000 (weighted to give higher allocations that account for population and geographic size, and need), villages can now respond to village-specific needs and customise and implement self-determined initiatives.

In 2014, a new Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions Development, and Transmigration (Kemendes, herein the Ministry of Villages) was established to oversee the significant policy change and institutional changes introduced by the 2014 Law, together with the Ministry of Home Affairs that has long had authority for decentralisation.

The introduction of the new Village Law has thus introduced profound changes to governance in Indonesia. It also explicitly emphasises participatory community decision making, poverty reduction and gender equity, having the potential to support continued efforts to improve gender inclusion and women's influence on governance, development and broader structures of power.

This study on *Women's Collective Action and the Village Law* seeks to understand **in what contexts, to what extent and through what mechanisms has local collective action by women influenced the implementation of the Village Law. And, what has been the role for CSOs in this process.** In answering these questions, the study aims to:

- Investigate in depth, and at scale, the processes by which women have influenced the implementation of the Village Law and village development, with a particular focus on local (or grassroots) collective action by women,
- Understand how such influence varies across Indonesia,
- Identify what has constrained or enabled such influence, and
- Determine what has been the role for civil society organisations (CSOs)—as a structured, organised form of collective action that operates within but also beyond the village—in this process.

The study draws on research conducted in nine provinces, 12 districts, and 14 villages—from Sumatra, to Java, to Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and East and West Nusa Tenggara (see Section 2). Each of the research areas has different livelihood options, geography and infrastructure, resource endowments, and population densities that, among others, shape policy, programs, and service design and delivery. These contexts also have differing politico-economic interests and dynamics, regulatory and policy environments, influential state and non-state actors, religious affiliations, social and customary norms, and dominant types of social networks.

Such features create enormous diversity in the subnational structures of authority, power and decision

[1] Law No. 22/1999 and Law No. 25/1999, which were later revised through Law No. 32/2004 and Law No. 23/2014 on Local Government. In the 2014 Local Government Law, some of the authority of districts, particularly in relation to policies and smaller-scale licences in the resource sectors was wound back and shifted to provincial governments.

making across Indonesia that can form barriers to gender inclusion, narrowing the spaces for women to individually and collectively exercise voice, influence and agency. They can also however, create opportunities for change.

The study draws predominantly from mixed-methods qualitative research (backed up by some quantitative analysis), including (often repeated) in-depth and life history interviews and focus group discussions, **involving more than 600 people**, as well as observational data and informal conversations with many more women and community members. Data was collected through prolonged village stays and continued contact with participants over 2019. The study also draws from within case and comparative case analysis of CSO strategies, social networks, village and district contexts, and process tracing in the research sites (of women's influence on the Village Law), and some quantitative analysis on scale using databases collating data on women's groups, regulations and CSO activities in 27 provinces.

Fifteen CSOs and mass women's organisations (herein collectively referred to as CSOs) that have been engaged in community organising and supporting women collaborated in the research. These organisations were partners in the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (MAMPU)—which also supported the research—and contributed to research planning, fieldwork facilitation, and iterative analysis. Participating national organisations and consortium networks include PEKKA, Institut KAPAL Perempuan, 'Aisyiyah, FPL, Migrant CARE, BaKTI, PERMAMPU, BITRA, and Yasanti. Subnational organisations include YKPM, YABIKU, DAMAR Lampung, SPI Labuhan Batu, Perkumpulan Panca Karsa, and KPS2K.

Other studies on the early implementation of the Village Law find that village women have tended to be less likely to influence the implementation of the Village Law at scale (see for example, the Sentinel Villages Study baseline results in Syukri et al. [2017, 2018] and Dharmawan et al. [2018] and other related research). However, these studies had few sites in the research sample where there were active civil society groups giving attention to Village Law implementation, and did not investigate in detail the mechanisms by which women have influenced Village Law implementation, if and when this does occur.

To help fill this gap, this research uses a method of positive deviance for site selection by including sites in different regions across Indonesia where women's influence on Village Law implementation might have occurred to identify and analyse the mechanisms underpinning such influence. The research includes sites where CSOs were and were not operating to support village women.

The research sites were selected to explore *how* village women might have influence on the implementation of the Village Law in rural Indonesia (via what pathways and mechanisms), if indeed they were able to do so, and to also establish if and *how* CSOs may have supported this process.

Working with and through grassroots groups: Given that the research draws from a sample of sites where MAMPU CSO Partners have sought to support village women (as well as 'control' sites where no such support has been provided to date), it is important to point out the common approach used by these Partner CSOs, that is, working with and through grassroots groups alongside broader advocacy to promote gender inclusion, with the goal of empowering women. This is a particular type of CSO intervention. Other CSOs may use a different approach and be less focused on the goal of gender inclusion and empowerment, which may have implications for women's collective action that are not explored here.

Broader applicability: The findings are nonetheless helpful for all audiences (not just CSOs) in understanding *how* grassroots women's collective action might be supported by group structures of different kinds that involve women, and *how*, or via what mechanisms, external actors might help bolster women's influence in villages and beyond. That is, even if not working with CSOs as partners in initiatives to bolster women's influence in governance, some of the features of the *ways* CSOs have supported women in the research sites to facilitate or augment their agency certainly constitute important learning for other settings, actors and agencies concerned with gender-inclusive governance, structures of power, and socio-economic development.

This study captures the experiences of some of Indonesia's most vulnerable women: It is important to note that in their work, many of these organisations have endeavoured to access and support some of the most vulnerable women in Indonesia, who are often the poorest of the poor in villages that themselves tend to have high aggregate levels of poverty. This includes:

- Female headed families,
- Victims and survivors of domestic and other forms of gender-based violence,
- Homeworkers with precarious livelihoods and often below-subsistence incomes,
- Women with limited livelihoods options seeking to overcome poverty through migrant work, who are vulnerable to exploitation by middle-men that may use illicit channels to facilitate such work, and, among others,

- Those with little knowledge of issues such as reproductive health and nutrition or how to even access available social protection and poverty reduction assistance programs.

Many of the women in the study have experienced these multiple dimensions of poverty or vulnerability all at once. These are the women that often fall through the cracks of poverty alleviation and social protection programs. They tend to have lower formal education levels, and may be significantly socio-economically, politically or even geographically isolated.

As such, in conducting research in many sites where research partner organisations have worked (as well as sites where there are no CSOs present), this research has sought to capture in ethnographic detail the voices and experiences of some of the most vulnerable rural women in Indonesia. The research has focused on how these and other women take action to influence development decision making and wider structures of power, but also on the ways they build networks of influence with other actors and then, together, collectively advocate for gender inclusive policies and practice. The study also captures the experiences of other women in the research sites who may still experience significant challenges but do not (or no longer) have the same heightened degree of vulnerability.

Multiple pathways: The study identifies the multiple pathways of action that rural women, particularly more marginalised women, take in the research sites to exercise voice and agency, which has often, at least initially, been bolstered by CSO support for these village women, with each organisation having different approaches. While such support has been especially important in helping grow the agency and networks of more vulnerable women compared with those men and women more accustomed to exercising voice and influence, there may also be other pathways. The findings are nonetheless more applicable for wider sets of actors, programs and organisations beyond CSOs, seeking to build trust with and provide support for rural village women and gender inclusive development and policy making.

Framework for Explaining Women's Influence

We conceptualise women's collective action in this study as actions undertaken by collectivities, groups and networks, predominantly made up of women although often too with others, that seek to create positive changes in women's lives. We distinguish between when these actions seek to create positive changes for women in their everyday lives in general, and when this relates specifically to creating such changes via influence on governance processes and structures of power, which is important for understanding women's influence on Village Law implementation. The research analyses two forms of collective action:

1) Village women's grassroots collective action, and

2) Structured, organised forms of support for village women, including village-level initiatives and broader, organised CSO advocacy and action.

To understand women's collective action in different contexts—particularly the experiences of more vulnerable women—the analysis examines:

- The interaction between district and village socio-cultural, politico-economic, and institutional (policies, regulations, programs) settings and how this constrains or advances gender-inclusive decision-making processes and structures of power—including how settings are shaped by influential leaders, and variations across time and space (Contexts—Section 3).
- The ways village women—individually and through new and existing collectivities (including informal spaces and organised groups and networks)—grow their agency and take action to exercise voice and influence in village and broader decision-making and structures of power (Pathways: Village women's experiences and patterns in types and intensity of women's grassroots collective action—Sections 4 & 5).
- If and how village women's agency and collective action is supported by CSOs in different ways through groups, each with different internal structures and forms of support (Pathways: CSO structures and support for women's grassroots groups and agency—Section 6).
- The ways CSOs use planned and adaptive strategies to support women to navigate district and village context constraints (Pathways: Strategies—Section 7).

The analysis then determines how such action shapes institutional rules (e.g. regulations), socio-cultural gender norms, and Village Fund (Dana Desa) allocations under the Village Law, as well as broader gender inclusion in contexts (Outcomes — Section 8).

Key Findings: Variation in District and Village Contexts

1. Gender-inclusiveness varies significantly across district and village contexts, creating differential constraints and opportunities for women to exercise voice and influence.

Section 3 describes the ways contexts interact with and shape the pathways for women to influence village development and wider gender-inclusiveness in Indonesian society. A range of factors constrain and create opportunities for women's influence in rural Indonesia at village and district levels (see Section 3):

- ***Different budget priorities and institutional rules*** *(policies and regulations)*—more gender inclusive regulations and guidelines are important for incentivising actors resistant to gender inclusiveness.
- ***The political economy in districts and villages***—power is both visible and hidden in different contexts; the way power is structured and exercised can promote or restrict gender inclusiveness.

Some regions display a high degree of plurality in terms of the scale and diversity of the political and social institutions, organisations, groups and leadership that have socio-political influence. Others are narrower—there are fewer influential actors, organisations and institutions, and more closely aligned interests which may or may not be committed to women's inclusion in decision making and wider gender equality.

- ***Existing political will of government and social leaders*** to support empowerment agendas—leaders can speed up and limit gender inclusiveness through public discourse, program priorities, and policy design.
- ***The degree of alignment*** between politically-determined development policy priorities and key concerns, gaps and needs identified by women and CSOs—the wider the gap, the more difficult it is for women to have influence and for their voices to be heard, but this can change over time.
- ***The types and nature of networks between actors***—building stronger, deeper networks between village women and authoritative and influential village, district (and provincial/national) leaders supportive of women's empowerment creates a greater likelihood for networked collective action to result in gender-inclusive institutions, programs, and ultimately structures of power and decision-making.
- ***Informal socio-cultural norms***—socio-cultural gender norms are a significant and often hidden barrier for women to exercise voice and influence, particularly in public life and development decision-making. Changing such norms can and does happen through women's networked collective action, but change is slower and more incremental, often lagging behind policy and program changes.

2. District and village contexts interact to create constraints on and opportunities for gender inclusiveness and women's influence.

Districts in some cases constitute a more conducive environment for gender inclusiveness, but this does not always correspond with village dynamics. Likewise, villages can be innovative even in light of district institutional and political environments that by design or default are restrictive for women's empowerment. Both realms, tend to interact to produce differential conditions for women's collective action and influence.

Context dynamics affect the everyday challenges women face and the extent they can individually or collectively exercise influence in public and often private realms. They also shape the forms of women's grassroots collective action, the nature and scope of on-the-ground initiatives to support these women, and the different CSO approaches to support village women to navigate contexts and more broadly to advocate for policy change. This has implications for if and how women can influence village governance, so as to contribute to their efforts to improve their wellbeing.

The analysis in Section 3 presents four broad categories of contexts, which are more or less conducive to women's influence and gender inclusiveness and reflect both interacting district-village dynamics as well as indicators of 'difficulty' for introducing or strengthening gender inclusion. Based on onset conditions before CSOs—with the support of MAMPU—sought to support village women through empowerment initiatives, many research sites displayed highly to moderately difficult context features.

Highly difficult contexts for broader women's influence in village and district governance, and more explicitly on the implementation of the Village Law, are those in which there are weak, if any, policies, regulations and programs that encourage women's participation, and little political willingness among state and social leaders to support such an agenda at **both district and village levels**. They also display strong social norms that limit women's influence in public life and cultural taboos on discussing

issues affecting women—e.g. gender-based violence and reproductive health.

In such contexts, power tends to be concentrated among a small set of authority figures (both state and social leaders) who may be resistant to empowerment agendas, particularly those that are perceived to challenge status quo authority structures. There tend to be few groups in which women can comfortably and collectively act, or if these groups exist, membership diversity is limited.

Highly conducive contexts, display a greater degree of plurality of social and political authority figures at **both district and village levels** and indicators of policy and leadership support for empowerment, including progress towards institutional change. There often is a stronger representation of women in decision-making positions (particularly at the district level), and stronger, more diverse groups and forums for women's collective action and decision making. There also tends to be less resistance to gender inclusiveness, particularly when priority issues for village women and CSO advocacy agendas are aligned with political priorities.

Moderately difficult contexts display many of the features of highly difficult contexts, but there are indicators of changes occurring (or opportunities for change) at either district or village levels.

Moderately conducive contexts have embarked on a path of supporting gender inclusion at **either district or village levels**, usually supported by a high degree of political willingness, but may not have fully developed supporting institutional arrangements or the issues being tackled traverse more sensitive social norms.

Key Findings: Forms, Intensity and Patterns of Women's Collective Action

3. Women's collective action is both formal and informal in type in rural Indonesia.

For women in rural areas who are deeply embedded in the social networks that shape village life, and for more vulnerable women, collective action is unlikely to involve 'collective protest on the streets' to often unknown authorities with significant power. Rather, Section 5 demonstrates it involves exercising voice and agency often through informal processes involving more *informal* forms of influence through connecting to influential social and political figures, groups and organisations, in which women and these actors then together influence structures of power and decision making.

Analysis in Section 5 finds the forms of women's collective action in rural Indonesia are of different types situated on what is more or less a continuum (with some overlap between types) of more *informal* forms of influence through these interpersonal networks developed with authoritative government and social leaders, to participating in *formal* processes of decision making in organisations, institutions, and forums. Connecting more vulnerable women into the structures of power and decision-making has tended to involve establishing networks and the interrelated dimensions of slowly and incrementally building confidence, skills, capacities and knowledge for exercising voice and influence. Much of the action then takes place through these networks and involves a broader set of actors collectively advocating for change.

Many of the forms of collective action identified in the research were interrelated, sometimes sequential, sometimes overlapping and often mutually strengthening in the processes and trajectories of change mapped in villages, especially those that led to women having greater influence on the structures of power and decision making.

4. The patterns of the forms and intensity of women's collective action vary with context constraints.

The intensity and forms of village women's collective action, bolstered by the support of CSOs, vary across highly difficult and conducive contexts (see Section 5).

In highly difficult contexts most forms of collective action identified in the study were informal and involved interpersonal networks developed and strengthened over time between village women and other influential government and non-government 'champions' of gender inclusiveness. Through these networks, women sought to build trust with and persuade sometimes resistant village decision makers of the benefits of inclusive village development. One exception was village women and CSOs working together with village governments to design and enact Village Regulations on issues important to women.

In moderately difficult contexts, forms of collective action were more varied across formal and informal types, and of greater intensity, given the signals of opportunities for change through joint action. Over time, more institutionalised forms of gender representation and collective action became increasingly prevalent through rules (policies and regulations), forums and programs, which evolved to be more gender inclusive, while informal action continued.

In more conducive contexts, formal, institutionalised forms of collective action were increasingly prevalent compared with other places, including women's

(collective) participation in village government planning and decision-making forums (such as MusDes and/or Musrenbangdes), in similar district government decision-making forums, or by their involvement in formulating the content of new regulations, policies and programs. It also includes participating in elections as candidates and taking on other leadership. Informal forms of collective action were also important in conducive contexts, particularly for vulnerable women, but women did not need to rely as extensively on networks to exercise influence (Section 5).

Networked collective action

Section 5 shows that across the research sites, particularly in the most difficult contexts, the study observed a range of collective action processes driven by women's efforts to establish relationships and networks of trust with authoritative actors that have influence over governance processes and social norms. This study refers to these processes as women's *networked* collective action. That is, the efforts of women and other actors to, collectively endeavour to influence governance, development, policy programs and structures of power to be more gender inclusive (see Section 5).

Networked collective action involved women building or strengthening networks of trust with other women (through groups and informal spaces), and with other community members, especially authoritative actors often through engagement in everyday settings. It then involved village women ***leveraging their newly established or existing networks to garner*** support for their endeavours.

This then created ***multiple sources of pressure*** on authoritative actors and ultimately decision-making forums and power structures, so as to influence outcomes. Such processes were also helpful for overcoming challenges, particularly resistance among authoritative and influential figures to gender inclusiveness.

Women's informal spaces and more formal groups bolstered this process by extending networks, providing a new arena in which to build individual and collective agency through shared knowledge, skills and resources, providing mutual support and a source of protection, and fostering a sense of solidarity and collective agency.

Key Findings: Women's Influence and Village Law Impacts

5. Village women can and do influence the implementation of the Village Law, particularly with structured support—but influence varies with context constraints and opportunities.

The study establishes in Section 4 (and again in Section 8), that indeed, across the research sites throughout nine provinces, village women were able to grow their power and collective influence on the implementation of the Village Law and make significant contributions to village governance. For vulnerable rural women, this was particularly the case when they were supported by CSOs using a variety of planned and adaptive strategies, and wider advocacy—however, with confidence and networks such action then took on a life of its own.

Examples of increased influence include new rules and policies (at both village and district levels) such as *Perdes* (Village Regulations), *Perda/Perbup* (Regional Regulations/ District Head Regulations), and technical guidelines prioritising women's needs and sensitivity to gender inequities (see Sections 4 and 8). In some places, special women's development planning meetings at village/district levels (*Musrenbangdes/ Musrenbangda*) were held or women were encouraged to attend village/district decision-making forums. Examples of increased influence also include Village Fund (Dana Desa) and sometimes district/provincial allocations for programs benefiting women, and some influence on gendered social norms in villages (albeit slowly) through initiatives implemented with the support of the village. Such influence was less apparent in control sites and overall, change tended to be slower and incremental in the most difficult contexts.

It was also evident that in places where women had influence on Village Law implementation (albeit to varied degrees), there was significant diversity in the range of initiatives that women introduced, which included but went beyond infrastructure and economic development.

This ranged from new projects to establish clean water, sanitation, and solar-powered electricity facilities, to creating village-funded service posts that serve as a safe space for women to report and receive assistance in cases of gender-based violence, as well as safehouses for these women and their children. Women also gained village support and funding for nutritional gardens, reproductive health services, village ambulance services, Early Childhood Education facilities, integrated health post facilities, women's care posts, paralegal services, as well as support for informal sector workers' groups, citizen documentation and religious marriage certification.

In multiple villages, women also successfully proposed village-owned enterprises (BUMDes) to help diversify livelihoods options for women (and the wider

community). In one region a one-stop service provision centre was established to help migrant workers access and follow legal administrative processes to work overseas, and to train returned migrant workers and their families on how to utilise remittances for sustained livelihoods.

Overall, the diversified village development outcomes identified in the study that resulted from women's influence on Village Law implementation included village economic *and* social policies and projects, as well support for training, skills development and information dissemination, service delivery and other initiatives. To institute these initiatives, in many cases women also initiated and led new multi-stakeholder forums, task forces, and other mechanisms to tackle particular issues, and garnered the support of other stakeholders to participate in these forums.

Key Findings: Pathways of Influence—How CSOs Help Improve Gender Inclusion

6. CSO grassroots support for vulnerable and often marginalised rural village women helps create pathways for their influence and inclusion in village development, particularly in difficult and moderately difficult contexts.

Women's essential capacity and readiness for acting individually and collectively form the basis for fostering women's voice, influence and empowerment. In turn, this may bring about longer-term changes in women's own welfare in terms of women's access to public services and programs that improve their livelihoods, and the participation of women in governance processes and their influence over wider social and political power structures.

What is clear from the analysis is that supporting (or strengthening) the creation of safe, informal spaces and more formal, resourced, inclusive and organised groups for women, helped strengthen and grow women's social capital and their individual and collective agency over time.

Given many long-standing practices of exclusion, particularly in the public sphere, participation in the types of groups examined in this study helped strengthen village women's *power within,* that being their sense of self-worth and confidence, the *power* of women *to* act in public realms and their *power with* other women (and broader networks) to engage in collective action and exercise greater influence and (albeit not exclusive) *power over* structures of decision making and village development outcomes. Section 5 and especially Section 6 show how this occurred through multiple interacting and overlapping processes generated from group participation, such as:

- Strengthening and diversifying supporting networks and friendships with other women,
- Fostering a sense of solidarity and understanding of the issues many women face,
- Growing and sharing skills, access to resources, and knowledge,
- Strengthening organisational and leadership skills and experience,
- Providing a safe space and a source of protection,
- Building confidence and mutual support to overcome barriers and obstacles,
- Developing women's collective strength to have wider influence, and, among others,
- Providing an organised and recognised platform for: driving women's collective action of multiple forms, and for connecting to and collaborating with other actors and groups in villages and beyond to participate in women's wider *networked* collective action.

Analysis in Section 6 demonstrates that CSOs trusted by village women helped facilitate such groups and spaces, and provided additional support for more vulnerable women to navigate barriers to their inclusion in development decision-making.

Most often, the CSOs in this study supported village women to establish new women's groups, although in some cases, particularly in difficult contexts, CSOs supported existing women's groups, working with them to broaden the group agenda and diversity of membership. In a number of cases, CSOs supported village women to establish mixed gender multi-stakeholder groups to support village development, but for women these were best accompanied by other formal and informal women's spaces in which they felt safe.

Without such spaces and support, particularly in the most difficult contexts and for the most vulnerable and marginalised women, the barriers to inclusion were so great that it was difficult for village women to embark on a journey of trying to 'suddenly' influence power dynamics, particularly in the face of both hidden and more explicit long-standing practices of exclusion. CSOs were also one among the constellation of supporting actors involved in women's networked collective action.

Drawing on ethnographic detail, analysis in Section 4 illustrates how many women throughout the research sites described journeys of surprise and bewilderment as their gender awareness grew, and then often confusion when they encountered fierce resistance from friends and family with whom they shared their experiences.

They explained the fear, stigma and threats they experienced both within households and in community settings as they sought to get more involved in village development and public life. They often faced resistance from village authority figures with the power to exclude women from 'everyday' social, economic and other networks and opportunities on which they rely to meet basic needs, often in situations of extreme impoverishment.

Yet, as is discussed in Section 4, women's journeys were filled with accounts of perseverance, bravery and taking risks in promoting change and driving collective action, bolstered by group support. They encountered setbacks over time, which many were able to overcome—sometimes alone, sometimes with CSO support—indicating that village women's efforts to improve gender inclusion require time and continued support as journeys are not always positively and upwardly linear. Women also described the personal benefits—social, economic, skills, networks, knowledge, support—of joining women's groups for the first time and how this helped them forge new pathways. **Across the 27 provinces where MAMPU CSO Partners have worked, by June 2020, nearly 3,500 groups were established with MAMPU program support, involving some 73,000 women and 3,000 men.**

Section 4 also discusses the cohort experiences of those village women who emerged as key leaders and mobilisers in driving women's collective action, especially early on. Some had prior life experience in organising (as members of groups, including state-corporatist women's groups), or experience in public-facing roles through their income-generation activities or education, and/or learned to leverage social or family networks for support. These women were better equipped to take on leadership roles to mobilise and drive collective action when the opportunity arose, although were not always initially aware nor confident that they had such potential—some had not dreamed they could take on such leadership roles.

Yet, such a background was not essential: others, particularly those from more vulnerable groups, were also able to lead action with encouragement and group support. Understanding these cohort experiences among leaders is helpful for determining who might emerge as agents of change during new initiatives to support village women, particularly early on, but also over time.

7. CSO structures and approaches to support to village women present different opportunities and trade-offs.

Section 6 illustrates that CSOs have different organisational structures, networks, and length of establishment, work at different scales, focus on different issues, and work in different regions (with varied context difficulties for promoting gender inclusion).

Many CSOs and mass women's organisations examined in this study consisted of either national (or large regional) networks of organisations (some network member organisations also have their own partner organisations), national-subnational organisational partnerships supporting women in particular regions, or organisations connecting to communities with branch structures, with growing scale over time. Analysis in Section 6 shows that they also connect to communities through different combinations of staff, paid and unpaid community organisers, village cadres, which can change over time. These dimensions have implications for:

- Choices on targets, resourcing decisions and the nature and depth of impacts at different scales.
- How CSOs collaborate with development partners on new initiatives and that external support for CSOs is not amenable to a 'one-size-fits-all' approach.

Analysis in Section 6 explains how CSO planning choices were made to have the greatest impacts within the bounds of their organisational structures/networks and were often dependent on human/financial resource availability, their sectoral focus and whether this might traverse cultural taboos. In addition, the degree to which CSOs already had established district or village-level relationships, context dynamics, and the nature of the activity at hand also had implications for their choices and approach to establishing, extending or strengthening their connections to and support for women at the grassroots. Some CSO organisational structures and approaches were comprised of a number of the following features, with each having advantages and trade-offs (see Section 6):

- ***Network consortiums*** have wide reach and can operate at scale, but often lack sufficient resources at the national level for monitoring and providing support for these partners that also vary in their approaches, levels of experience, and length of establishment.
- ***National organisations with sub-national partnerships*** tend to have reach in particular regions and support specific partners over time in localities, and depending on national resource availability, work at small or medium scales on resource-specific timeframes.
- ***National organisations with branch structures*** are able to establish long-term support to women in localities, but this involves time and significant resources to establish and build support.
- ***Those working with cadre structures*** (in some cases national, in others local organisations) are often able to build local trust and work quickly in new villages (often fewer in number but more intensively), but support to cadres is resource intensive for staff and village cadres

can also be unwittingly affected by village politics—new leaders can sideline cadres associated with rivals.

- ***Those with community organising structures*** in which CSO staff/field officers live in or nearby villages can provide deep support to village women—and to cadres where applicable—in difficult contexts to navigate hidden and visible barriers to inclusion, but work intensively in fewer regions with the resources available.
- ***Most CSOs working in difficult contexts need to supplement village government capacity and village service gaps***—leaders may be willing to engage with initiatives to bolster inclusion but do not know how to go about it nor how to design Village Regulations or appropriately allocate funding to support women's self-identified priorities.
- ***'Do it for them' approaches sped up progress in the short-term. 'Do it with them' approaches took longer***, but knowledge was shared, and skills transferred, to both village women and authority figures, having implications for longer-term sustainability when CSO support receded.

8. Tailored strategies to support village women are effective in the most difficult contexts but involve deep, sustained human and financial investments over longer time horizons.

Section 7 highlights that CSOs have also supported village women by using strategic and adaptive approaches to undertake advocacy and to help village women navigate context constraints. For example, supporting women in participatory data collection on village women and their self-identified needs, as well as social network mapping, is helpful for both village women and for CSOs themselves to identify, build connections with and leverage the support of 'champions' to lobby others with significant power in villages and districts.

Such data collection is also an important step for CSOs in accessing new villages. Other approaches and strategies were also used by CSOs to help facilitate village women to garner the support of what commonly might constitute resistant authorities to gender inclusiveness and empowerment agendas. Learning from the experiences of village women and CSOs across the study, in the most difficult contexts, successful support for village women to influence village development entailed:

Figure 1. Key CSO Strategies for Supporting Village Women to Exercise Voice and Influence in Difficult Contexts

1	**Focus on fewer villages** but heavier investments, with support based on network and social mapping and data collection on needs with community members.	✓
2	**Carefully sequenced village access**, entry and activities in villages and leveraging social networks and 'champions' for support, developing relationships with local and district elites for support while building trust with communities.	✓
3	**Embedded CSO staff in villages** (live in or nearby for frequent engagement) to support women and build trust.	✓
4	**Accompanying women to any decision-making forums** or encounters with village power structures.	✓
5	**Facilitating extended networks and 'networked collective action'** by connecting village women (organised in women's formal and informal groups) with influential actors across policy, social and regulatory fields.	✓
6	**Strengthening women's practical skills**—economic, livelihood, parenting, health, and literacy skills—**and intrinsic skills, wider knowledge**, gender awareness, and understanding of government administrative processes through groups.	✓
7	**Filling gaps in knowledge** (e.g. regulatory design) **and essential services** - e.g. healthcare, citizen legibility, safe migration, safe houses.	✓
8	**Ensuring some women's group activities have an economic focus, or are framed as such**, is helpful (but not necessarily sufficient) for women's participation.	✓
9	If focused on **social norms, accompany this focus** with other **practical development activities.**	✓
10	**Planning for transitions** such as changes in leadership, including the implications of any support for women's groups from prior leaders.	✓

Key Findings: Pathways of Influence—Village Law and Empowerment Outcomes

9. Rules are an important, necessary incentive for resistant actors to support inclusion, but rules alone do not generate outcomes.

Under democratisation and decentralisation, significant efforts have been made to grow democratic decision making and to include communities in processes to determine development priorities—the introduction of the Village Law is another step in this process.

However, there are often hidden barriers to gender inclusion that are shaped by both social norms on gender roles and the way structures of authority and power are configured (and historically embedded). These then privilege actors from particular networks, families, and other groups who have long been involved in political and policy decision making or have exercised influence in economic or social realms.

Analysis in Section 7 shows that in the process of improving gender inclusiveness it was important to introduce regulatory reforms (such as Village and District

Regulations, instructions and policies) and technical implementation guidance so as to institutionalise the inclusion of women in decision-making processes and fund allocations.

Village and District Heads, subnational governments, and other leaders responded to regulations, 'guidance' and lists of priorities for spending from central ministries and districts.

Rules alone did not assure women's influence. Yet, rules did create incentives over longer time frames for resistant leaders and decision-makers to involve women in decision-making and to prioritise funding allocations for women, particularly in the absence of village-level facilitation to bolster community participation in planning. Women being supported to overcome hidden and explicit barriers to exercising power was also an important catalyst for outcomes. Many examples were evident of how policies determined at multiple levels, including by villages themselves, bolstered inclusiveness. To note a few:

- Creating forums, such as village and district development planning forums (Musrenbangdes and Musrenbangda) designated for women, structuring mixed forums to have generous representation of women, and ensuring women's voices are substantively taken into account (not just an administrative step).
- Widely advertising meetings through different forums.
- Ensuring women were specifically invited and welcomed (not nominally including one group representative in decision-making meetings).
- Earmarking minimum funds for initiatives that were self-determined priorities for and driven by women.
- Allocating specified funding within Village Regulations for already established women's initiatives.
- Officially and formally recognising women's groups in regulatory arrangements, such as many different women's unions (female-headed families unions, homeworkers unions, village women's unions), and others such as mixed gender constituent groups, migrant worker support groups, and task forces.

10. CSO support for village women and grassroots networked collective action had wider gender inclusion effects—changing contexts and institutionalising gender inclusiveness over time.

Section 8 describes how across the research sites in which CSOs sought to support village women and women undertook different forms of collective action, broader changes in gender inclusion were evident. This was the case even in places more resistant to empowerment agendas, especially when compared with control sites where no such support and minimal collective action existed.

Women's collective action not only saw greater women's influence over village development and budgets allocated to support activities proposed by women's groups, but also the increasing institutionalisation of gender inclusive decision-making. That is, contexts became more conducive to women's influence and participation in development decision making and public life over time.

This not only resulted from the efforts of various types of women's groups, but also resulted from village women and often CSOs working closely with government and other influential actors to develop gender inclusive regulatory frameworks, policies and processes. In most cases, in the intervention sites, even in places more resistant to gender inclusion and empowerment agendas, changes were evident in the regulatory frameworks in districts and villages, which have implications for some if not all dimensions of gender roles, rights, responsibilities and representation (or the 4Rs).

Analysis in Sections 5-8 revealed that improving gender inclusiveness, particularly for the most vulnerable women, entailed the dual imperatives of undertaking both advocacy and concrete initiatives at village *and* district levels, which was also augmented by national level partnerships with government and mass organisations. Subnationally, in conducive contexts, changes were apparent (but not necessarily embedded) after 3-4 years of support for village women, depending on the sectoral focus and scale of the endeavour.

Larger scale initiatives, for example those focused on livelihoods or social protection for the poorest women, required longer for building support. Here, introducing regulatory reforms, program or service roll out, evaluation and fine-tuning of pilots and implementation at scale, took between 4-6 years. In the most difficult contexts, particularly at the village level, even small-scale initiatives required longer and deeper investments (over 6-10 years). Sequenced village-level change in one or two aspects may be evident after 3-4 years of such investments, but much longer time frames are needed for policy and institutional change to take effect and become embedded in contexts. This was particularly the case for focus issues that traverse cultural taboos, or cross-cutting initiatives that interact with or seek to deepen intractable power structures that exclude women.

11. A sectoral focus is a key factor affecting the speed of change and advancement of gender inclusion—focus on changing social norms alone is likely to be highly resisted.

Initiatives that traverse cultural taboos such as domestic violence and women's reproductive health, require significant time frames and tailored strategies of support regardless of the context. Analysis in Sections 7, 8 and 9 clearly finds that efforts to change social norms and attitudes towards women is slower and incremental, particularly in places where social conventions are significantly different to the values espoused in empowerment agendas.

This includes places where, over time, village decisions are made by the same sets of influential actors, women rarely occupy influential leadership positions, there are few norms that support gender-inclusive decision making in public forums, and social norms often confine women to domestic roles or at best to both domestic and income-generating roles. In the study villages, change tended to occur when a focus on social norms was accompanied by other broader development activities in villages. Embarking on an agenda of tackling social norms alone is likely to be strongly resisted on entry into village environments as leaders are often suspicious of such agendas.

Small changes in targeted villages may be evident in 4-5 years with deep support, but for initiatives at scale, district-wide institutional change may take 5-10 years with the collective involvement of women's groups, multiple CSOs, government champions and other organisations.

12. Journeys to gender inclusiveness are not necessarily upwardly linear and progressive, they can advance and regress over time at critical junctures.

Women's collective action and influence over governance and broader structures of social and political power can be bolstered or constrained over time by ruptures in the external politico-economic environment at critical junctures—their journeys are not always upwardly linear and progressive (see Section 8). Such ruptures can shut down or open up spaces to advance or entrench gender inclusion, and can also reverse some of the gains made. Changes in village and district leadership during elections, or the overwhelming disruptions that occur with natural disasters, are just two examples.

The study found that even when the tenets of gender inclusion begin to surface over the short term of a few years, it cannot be assumed that they are sufficiently strong to resist these ruptures.

New leaders may seek to shut down women's participation in decision-making forums or close off funding for initiatives that received prior support, particularly in less conducive contexts. Equally, following the earthquake disaster in Lombok and in the recent COVID-19 pandemic, in regions where prior community organising initiatives to empower women had taken root, women in these villages were the first to move to respond to these disasters, taking on leadership positions and tailoring recovery efforts to community needs.

The findings from different research regions show the diversity of progress over time. In some places, at critical political moments, village-level progress on gender-inclusiveness regressed (such as with the election of a new leadership), while the district environment continued on the path to greater conduciveness.

It is evident too in the analysis that changes in social norms tend to lag behind institutional changes. Progress made to influence village and district contexts does not always move at the same speed or in the same direction due to context dynamics, particularly at critical junctures, even if similar degrees of support and types of initiatives are provided in different regions.

Applications

On supporting women to grow skills, networks, capacities, and influence at the grassroots level

1. Working with and through CSOs as *partners* can help build gender inclusiveness, reduce inequalities and facilitate women's networked collective influence, particularly for the most vulnerable women.

- CSOs focused on gender inclusion that build trust with and support rural village women can play an important role in opening up more opportunities for, and in facilitating, multiple forms of village women's collective action. This includes women's *networked* collective action with others in rural areas in Indonesia, in which CSOs can help women connect to other actors and support them (especially vulnerable women) to manage risks as they embark on processes of change that inevitably challenge power structures.
- In those study areas that did *not* have long-term and active involvement of trusted CSOs, the study found it

was more challenging for women to work collectively to bring about either formal or informal changes. There was little *endogenous* change already occurring in relation to women's collective action. Other programs and structures of support (such as networks of *trusted* facilitators) that display similar features to those of CSOs described in this research may also play a similar role.

- Both village women and CSOs are highly adaptive and resourceful in responding to variable context constraints and opportunities. Even in highly resistant contexts, with unsympathetic leadership, it is possible for grassroots women's groups to collectively act to create tangible change under the Village Law and in broader gender inclusion. CSO support helps this process.
- Facilitating gender awareness (for women but also in the community), strategic policy design and significant on-the-ground support (both by CSOs and other authoritative facilitators responsible for programs and services) helps ensure spaces are opened up for women, particularly more marginalised women to both participate and actually exercise voice and influence in practice, especially if this is not the norm.
- This does not mean all CSOs or other agencies should take the same approach—choices need to be made appropriate to the context dynamics, sectoral agenda, whether this might traverse cultural taboos, resource availability, existing networks, groups, relationships, and champions, with each having its strengths and drawbacks.
- Supporting CSOs as *partners* in ways that allow them to expand their work and facilitate their support for village women, allows them to develop approaches that are context adaptive, relevant to the sectoral issue at hand, and sensitive to the risks for and context-specific needs of women, particularly those who are most excluded or vulnerable. Similar flexibility would be needed in other structures of support for village women that don't work with and through CSOs as risks for village women remain.
- CSOs tend to fill important knowledge, capacity and service gaps for policy makers who might be willing but unsure about how to go about instituting change so as to be more inclusive of women. This is often an important component of accessing and building trust in villages. While adaptable and resourceful, CSOs need funding for this work.

2. Gender inclusion initiatives that seek to grow grassroots skills, knowledge and rural women's influence should be introduced in a carefully sequenced and supported way, especially in the most difficult contexts.

- Focusing on improving the regulatory environment *and* supporting on-the-ground initiatives that enhance both women's concrete skills and broader knowledge and capacities, particularly for participation in decision-making forums, helps to increase gender inclusiveness.
- Focusing on policy and institutional environments alone is insufficient to produce lasting change on the ground—analysis found many of the policy-focused strategies were effective because they were grounded in concrete, village-level benefits for women.
- Women's influence is enhanced through programs supporting the development of practical skills and opportunities—e.g. economic, livelihood, parenting and health, and literacy skills.
- Enhancing women's knowledge is also crucial, particularly sectoral knowledge, gender awareness, understanding of government administrative processes, and confidence in public speaking, negotiation, community outreach and leadership.
- Careful sequencing of grassroots support to women in different contexts is important so as to increase the likelihood of access and impact.
- Leveraging existing social networks for access and support helps with this process, as does aligning activities with the needs and priorities of the village where possible (or framing interventions as such) and supporting activities that have an economic focus in the most difficult contexts to build trust.

3. Ensuring diverse, inclusive membership of women from different backgrounds in women's groups and stakeholder forums bolsters wider gender inclusion.

- In difficult contexts, drawing from existing groups at the onset of programs through social activities helps to establish a core membership of women's groups (and overcome barriers to village access), but does not ensure diversity of membership of elite and non-elite women from different backgrounds.
- There are advantages to also supporting new women's groups or informal spaces, as they create safe spaces for women outside of usual social dynamics.
- Multi-stakeholder forums and groups can be a complementary structure to women's groups and informal spaces for effectively lobbying decision makers, but should be complemented by other safe, exclusive spaces for women.
- Crucial in this process is finding and building support from champions that become integrated in women's networks for collective action.

- Formally recognising women's groups in regulatory structures gives groups legitimacy, helping ensure women are invited to and included in decision-making structures.

On adapting support for gender inclusion to varied subnational contexts and sectors

4. Tailoring policy-based interventions and development support to accommodate context and sectoral/ thematic differences helps increase the likelihood of achieving gender inclusive outcomes.

The challenges that rural women face, and the barriers to gender inclusion, are diverse. In seeking to address inequalities and tackle poverty:

- Tailoring support to accommodate different emerging context or sector-specific challenges between regions is essential in supporting women to navigate the constraints they will likely face.
- For example, women who are migrant workers are embedded in international networks and require different kinds of support to homeworkers.
- At times this may mean directly addressing sensitive issues, at other times and in other contexts it may require more indirect approaches that effectively engage with decision makers who are often male.

5. Customising support for women, investments, timeframes, and monitoring and evaluation metrics to be relevant to and vary according to context features helps minimise risks and to establish achievable goals.

- In more conducive contexts, smaller investments in development programs or policy initiatives may be able to yield more rapid outcomes but will unlikely reflect the challenges, time and investment needed to support women in more difficult environments.
- Customising support for women, timeframes for progress, and monitoring and evaluation metrics to be relevant to the contexts in which initiatives take place will help tailor support for gender inclusion and ensure outcomes are both achieved and the risks for women are minimised.
- Plan for slow and incremental change in difficult contexts and on difficult and sensitive issues.

6. Supporting gender inclusion initiatives for longer time frames in difficult contexts makes achieving gender inclusiveness more likely.

There are opportunities but also significant challenges in contexts that do *not* display indicators of conduciveness to gender inclusion. These differences in progress in highly difficult contexts highlight that development partners should invest in long-term support to programs that develop foundations of trust in communities and provide external protections for women as they encounter significant resistance. Building gender inclusiveness in difficult contexts, will likely require:

- Focusing on fewer villages and using heavier investments at the village level based on network and social mapping with community members.
- This more intensive investment should also involve embedding CSO or community support and facilitation staff in villages.
- By living in or nearby villages, staff can frequently engage with women and support them to navigate context constraints

7. Working concurrently at district and village levels (bolstered with national-level advocacy) is critical for gender inclusive development in rural areas, particularly under the Village Law.

- It was clear from the study that gender inclusion achievements are made by concurrently undertaking advocacy and policy support at district levels, while also embedding institutional change in on-the-ground village initiatives that provide concrete benefits for village women.
- There were a number of examples where progress at the district level propelled women's influence and voice at the village level, or vice versa, where progress at the village level supported higher-level shifts.
- Working at both levels broadens the support for—and reinforces—changes in the institutional environment. This builds resilience to ruptures and setbacks, deepening the sustainability of empowerment initiatives. Working at both levels also increases the likelihood that the impacts of broader advocacy efforts in gender inclusion will increase over time, as these efforts become embedded in practice through concrete activities on the ground with women. Women are then able to increasingly exercise voice and influence but also be involved in the broader advancement of gender inclusion in Indonesia.

8. Developing rules and policies, forums, and women's spaces in governance structures/programs that incentivise inclusiveness for women helps motivate resistant actors.

- While formal rules are a necessary and important component of increased women's influence on the implementation of the Village Law, they are not in themselves sufficient for reducing inequalities and improving gender inclusiveness—this also entails supporting women to have influence in power structures and decision-making processes.
- Rules in particular motivate authoritative actors and power holders who are resistant to support inclusive development and an increased role for women in decision making, although other studies have shown that 'workarounds' can result.
- Rules and regulations, nonetheless, help ensure that advancements did not easily regress changes in leaders and other authoritative figures at different levels.
- Facilitation for communities on how to go about improving the inclusion of women in decision-making helps fill capacity and knowledge gaps.
- Formally recognising women's groups, specified women's spaces in development decision making (such as Women's MusDes or Musrenbangdes), and rules to ensure inclusion in final decision-making forums will go some way to countering the resistance that village women face.

On the COVID-19 response

9. Maximise opportunities for women to influence use of Village Fund in COVID-19 responses.

It is now widely recognised around the world, that the COVID-19 pandemic is impacting on women and men differently (Haneef & Kalyanpur, 2020). This occurs across areas of health, social and economic wellbeing, and women's participation. For example, women face high health risks as they make up 70% of all health and social services staff around the world (Linde & Laya, 2020) - and 67% of health and services staff in Indonesia (Prospera, 2019). Further, in crisis, women and girls are often excluded from grassroots decision-making forums which further weakens women's participation in responses.

The COVID-19 response in Indonesia

The Government of Indonesia has initiated a number of innovative responses to the COVID-19 crisis. Of most interest to this study is the use of the Village Fund (Dana Desa) in the COVID-19 response. Minister of Villages Regulation No. 6/2020 (enacted on 13 April) specifically allows for Indonesian villages to respond to COVID-19 pandemic using the Village Fund. Decisions on village responses under the Law are within the authority of the village government and decided through MusDes.

The regulation provides scope for the establishment of COVID-19 Village Volunteer Teams (or what is known as the village COVID-19 Taskforces), headed by the Village Head and with members from various village organisations, local public figure and authorities.

The regulation does not specify requirements for general women's participation in these taskforces, nevertheless, the team structure includes volunteers from village facilitators, village midwives, and Family Welfare and Empowerment organisation (PKK), which are often women-led but do not necessarily represent women's diversity and needs. Village COVID-19 Taskforces are central to decision making on who receives cash transfers.

Lessons from this study for the COVID-19 response

Learning from this study, the COVID-19 crisis represents a rupture in the status quo of women's participation in grassroots decision making around the Village Law. This presents both opportunities and threats for women's voice and influence.

The women's organisations involved in this study report that in areas where significant community organising had already taken place through women's groups, unions, networks, informal spaces and support for women, women in many instances were the first to move in the COVID-19 response in communities.

In these places, women have often taken on leadership roles in the COVID-19 response while also managing the challenges for themselves and their families brought on by the crisis. Many women's groups in these regions have been innovative to create new livelihoods opportunities and to shape care regimes and responses. Other regions could learn from these experiences of the importance of community organising through women's groups.

Some groups, however, are also particularly vulnerable, such as returned migrant workers, female-headed families—who often experience the highest levels of impoverishment and are not well captured in other social protection initiatives—homeworkers (as the factories and businesses they supply shut down), and for women creating livelihoods in the informal sector, among others.

Applying the findings of this study to the current context of responses to COVID-19, there are specific ways in which opportunities can be maximised for participation in Village Fund decision making.

- **Working with CSOs focused on gender inclusion as *partners,* or other agencies, organisations and sets of actors (such as facilitators) that are trusted by and support local women, is essential to counter possible gender exclusion.** CSOs have been active in supporting women to take on leadership roles in COVID-19 responses, but also giving targeted help to vulnerable groups. This study has highlighted the importance of CSO involvement facilitating an increase in the decision-making power of women and women's groups. While the COVID-19 response presents significant challenges to the usual operation of CSOs, they are highly adaptive—it is crucial that CSOs continue to be resourced in their work on women's collective action and influence.

- **Continued support for wide-reaching, cross-cutting gender inclusion and development initiatives can augment the impacts of the COVID-19 response.** Partner organisations for this study have identified the risks of pivoting all support from development partners for CSOs and from other development initiatives to the COVID-19 response. Some of the organisations working in critical healthcare and education, reproductive health education, community organising, skills development and education of the most vulnerable women, have reported that these groups are particularly vulnerable to the health risks and other pandemic affects. There are benefits for both wider development and the COVID-19 response by continuing to support wider-reaching cross-cutting initiatives.

10. Design risk mitigation strategies for the unintended consequences of the COVID-19 response itself.

Women's representation in decision making in COVID-19 responses is critical. While some regions have a prior history of women's groups that have diverse, skilled, vocal and influential women, this is not uniformly the case across Indonesia.

In many areas there is a greater likelihood that women are underrepresented in COVID-19 responses, Village Fund allocations, and in the village-level Taskforces coordinating the response. Learning from the experience of this study, even those women-led organisations that have been represented on village Taskforces may not have diverse female membership.

The role of MusDes and COVID-19 Village Volunteer Team is crucial in Village Fund decision making in response to COVID-19, and yet to date, there have been no specific guidelines about women's involvement. Gender inclusion can be bolstered by:

- **Shifting the guidelines to maximise women's participation in these forums**, especially given the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on women (e.g. increased risk of domestic violence, loss of income, and greater burden of care).

- **Higher gender representation on village and other Taskforces.** This would help ensure women's needs are taken into account in the response, any unintentional risks emerging from the response itself are identified, and give women the opportunity to provide inputs on how to mitigate these risks. This includes the risks for women responsible for sustaining households (e.g. through visiting village markets), supporting ill family members, and who need to undertake other activities that increase their encounters with community security and monitoring posts set up or strengthened by the COVID-19 response.

For many women such encounters can be frightening, and negative. Higher gender representation on Taskforces will help plan for risks and to develop tailored responses, especially regarding any increases in household tensions arising with stay-at-home orders.

1.

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

The Village Law

In 2014, Indonesia embarked on an ambitious agenda to devolve some authority for local development to village authorities through the Village Law, with budgets directly channelled to nearly 75,000 villages across the archipelago to implement local-level initiatives. Significant authority for decision making and associated budgets had already been devolved to district governments in 1999 (and some more limited authority devolved to provinces) through the regional autonomy Laws.[2] Under the 1999 laws, villages were established as autonomous units of government, located within districts. Under other democratisation reforms, direct popular elections of the executive, from the President to Governors, District Heads, and Village Heads were also introduced. With these decentralisation and democratisation reforms, villagers quickly became accustomed to their new-found authority as *desa* (villages)[3] with their own elected Village Head (and government made up of administrative officials) and Village Representative Council (BPD).

The introduction of the 2014 Village Law might be considered the third arm of decentralisation in the ways it has bolstered decentralised decision making across the archipelago and has recognised diverse forms of governance at the village level. The Law has sought to clarify the status of villages within Indonesia's governance structure but also to further codify participatory community decision making in determining village development priorities. The Law recognises village and customary diversity across the archipelago and emphasises the goal of poverty reduction in village development, to be implemented in ways that are gender-equitable and based on democratic decision making. With a designated annual budget of some USD75,000—in many cases more in more highly populated, geographically vast, or poorer localities—villages can respond to village-specific needs and customise and implement initiatives to tackle the challenges they face.

In 2014, a new Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions Development, and Transmigration (Kemendes, herein the Ministry of Villages) was established to oversee the significant policy change and institutional changes introduced by the 2014 Law, together with the Ministry of Home Affairs that has long had authority for decentralisation.

Gender inclusion and collective action

Meanwhile, over the past two decades of reform, Indonesian women, Indonesia's women's movement and many of Indonesia's civil society organisations (CSOs)—including mass women's organisations—concerned with gender inclusion have made significant inroads to improve gender equity through advocacy for new or revised legislation, policies and programs. Government agencies too, often but not always as a result of such advocacy, have, in a number of sectors and cross-cutting initiatives, introduced or revised legislation and

[2] Law No. 22/1999 and Law No. 25/1999, which were later revised through Law No. 32/2004 and Law No. 23/2014 on Local Government. In the 2014 Local Government Law, some of the authority of districts, particularly in relation to policies and smaller-scale licences in the resource sectors was wound back and shifted to provincial governments.

[3] Under the 1999 Law, villages were designated to be autonomous units acknowledged in the national governance system (as compared with their previous status as the smallest administrative unit within the government hierarchy) with the authority to govern and administer local communities based on their origins and local customs. This opened up the space for villages to take a form more aligned with their customs and traditions.

regulations centrally and regionally to create policy frameworks that better accommodate women's needs, strengthen their rights and endeavour to ensure women are involved in decision making—the gender quotas in Indonesia's electoral system are one example. Programs have been introduced under such policy frameworks to target broad improvements in social protection such as health, education, employment and in alleviating poverty, which have important implications for women.

While notable achievements have been made over the past two decades—for example, Indonesia has achieved 'medium equality' between men and women according to the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) 2018 rankings—such improvements have been incremental and uneven, particularly in rural areas. Structural inequalities remain. Each region in Indonesia also has its own development needs and challenges, particularly given the diversity of geography, infrastructure, service needs, population densities, levels of poverty, and socio-cultural norms, especially around gender roles, with patriarchal attitudes and behaviours that are especially acute in some regions making it more difficult to reduce barriers to gender inclusion.

As the burden of poverty often disproportionately falls on the shoulders of the women in Indonesia's poorest families, many programs—introduced or delivered by government, CSOs, mass organisations, or other agencies—target women as the first line of defence in poverty reduction. Indeed, tackling poverty, improving protections and the recognition of rights as well as access to services is an ongoing agenda for large-scale development programs, cross-regional women's organisations and networks, and thousands of smaller organisations found in many of Indonesia's districts. While such programs may have incrementally improved the position of women, or women may have gained new skills and access to services, these may, but do not necessarily address the underlying structural impediments to wider gender inclusion in decision making.

Thus, many in Indonesia's women's movement, both individuals and organisations, have also had the broader goal of changing social and political structures to be more inclusive of women. This has been to ensure that women are involved in the structures of power that set agendas, create or influence legislation, policies and programs, and shape socio-cultural norms, which ultimately have implications for women's wellbeing. As a vast, diverse archipelago, such political and social structures exist in multiple domains and at multiple levels, from villages to districts to provinces and nationally.

Within Indonesia's multi-level governance framework, the changes introduced under the Village Law have provided a significant opportunity for women to increasingly influence village governance and development decisions. This research investigates how women's collective action has influenced governance and decision making, development initiatives, and broader structures of power in Indonesia's in rural districts and villages, with a particular focus on the implementation of the Village Law. While we predominantly focus on the implementation of the 2014 Law in villages, we also situate this within district dynamics, given Indonesia's multi-level governance structures.

We explore two dimensions of such collective action and the interactions between them. We focus on grassroots women's collective action in rural Indonesia—the actions taken by village women to improve their wellbeing in general, but also to exercise power and voice to influence decisions which affect them, particularly in relation to village development and decision making. We also investigate broader CSO advocacy and support provided to rural village women through grassroots groups to improve gender inclusion and empower women. The targeted strategies and adaptive actions undertaken by these organisations also constitute a more structured organisational form of women's collective action in Indonesia's localities. In exploring these two dimensions, and the interactions between them, we seek to

understand the ways women's collective action has influenced village and district environments, and ultimately Village Law implementation.

Research questions and methodology

To fill distinct gaps in existing studies identified further in Section 2, this study aims to answer the overarching research questions: in what contexts, to what extent and through what mechanisms has local collective action by women influenced the implementation of the Village Law, and what is the role for CSOs in this process? Answering these questions includes analysis of:

- The ways village women have sought to exercise voice and take action (and changes over time) through collectivities, groups and networks among themselves and with others, and their experiences of change over time,
- The role of and strategies used by CSOs in supporting these women, and undertaking inter-related advocacy at village and district levels,
- How these dynamics have varied in different contexts, including constraints and opportunities, and
- Ultimately, the pathways (varied) by which such action have influenced the implementation of the Village Law.

The study uses multi-level comparative case analysis drawing from extensive qualitative data collected for this study involving more than 600 people, especially more vulnerable rural women. We support this mixed-methods qualitative research with additional analysis of quantitative monitoring data from 27 provinces. Through analysis of in-depth and life history interviews with more than 450 people, more than thirty focus group discussions with another 150 people, process tracing of changes over time in villages and districts (case studies of village Stories of Change), village social network analysis, village and district context analysis, and CSO organisational analysis, we identify the pathways through which women have sought to exercise voice, take action to influence the implementation of the Village Law. We also reflect on if and how CSO support has bolstered women's empowerment in different contexts.

From Sumatra to Java, to Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and East and West Nusa Tenggara, data was collected throughout 2019 in nine provinces and 12 districts where there are different livelihood options, levels of poverty, geography and infrastructure, services and programs, resource endowments, population densities, religious affiliations and social and customary norms. Given the study has a specific focus on village-level dynamics, we not only conducted district (and some provincial) research, but also extensive research through long stays in 14 villages; one in each of these districts where CSOs have introduced or strengthened support for village women, and in two villages where there were no known CSO interventions (one on Java and one off Java).

This research was supported by the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (MAMPU) program, although the analysis presented is that of the authors. As a collaboration between the Indonesian and Australian Governments, the MAMPU program aimed to support women's empowerment and improve gender equality in Indonesia in partnership with Indonesian women's organisations. Through its partnership approach, MAMPU supported 13 large national or regional women's organisations and consortium networks that focus on different sectoral issues of concern for women while seeking to support village women and strengthen women's skills, capacity and opportunities to exercise voice and influence in Indonesian society. Many of these large-scale national organisations and consortiums have provincial and district organisational CSO partners as well. By the end of 2019, MAMPU had directly and

indirectly supported 122 partners at national and subnational levels in 147 districts and municipalities and 1,137 villages across 27 of Indonesia's 34 provinces.

To undertake this study and to initially connect with village women, nine of MAMPU's 13 national partners and a further six subnational partners of these organisations collaborated with the researchers, supporting and providing iterative feedback on the design and analysis, and facilitating (one channel among several) access to research sites. Each of the 15 CSO and mass women's organisations included in the study (herein collectively referred to as CSOs) are outlined in Section 2 (in the sampling frame) and more information on the scope and scale of their work beyond the research sites is outlined in Annex 3.

The targeted support for women and advocacy undertaken by those CSOs involved in the study has focused on five key issues for women—social protection, reproductive health and nutrition, protection for migrant workers, better work conditions and reduced discrimination against women in the informal sector (in particular for homeworkers) and reducing violence against women, in particular domestic violence. These issues were also the five focus areas of the MAMPU program. This study also captures Village Law implementation dynamics in relation to all of these five focus issues through research in 12 'intervention' districts/villages. For comparison, we also investigate the dynamics of gender inclusion and women's possible influence on the implementation of the Village Law in the two 'control' sites, one village in the Pangkajene and Islands District (South Sulawesi Province, Sulawesi Island) and a second village in Gresik District (East Java Province, Java Island). As mentioned, there were no known interventions or support for village women undertaken by CSOs in these two places. Research from these 'control' sites is used for comparative analysis with 'intervention sites' to better highlight if dynamics varied in terms of:

- Grassroots expressions of agency and collective action,
- If, and which dimensions of CSO support for village women may have facilitated or bolstered women's agency, collective action and influence on the implementation of the Village Law and wider gender inclusion, and by which pathways, and
- Which dimensions of change might be more endogenous to the processes underway in Indonesian villages with the implementation of the Village Law.

While the CSOs involved in the study are many and varied (as are all of MAMPU's other partners), they have one aspect of their approach in common—working with and through grassroots groups alongside broader advocacy. These organisations have supported village women to establish new groups (often but not always exclusively for women) or they have supported and collaborated with existing village women's groups and organisations in villages, with aim of supporting village women take a more socially transformative role through collective action. In many cases these organisations also undertake advocacy and other structured forms of collective action to reduce the impediments to women's influence with the broader structures of power, both within and outside Indonesia's formal systems of governance.

Given that the research draws from a sample of sites where MAMPU CSO Partners have sought to support village women by working with and through grassroots groups, the study thus captures dynamics pertaining to this particular type of CSO intervention focused on gender inclusion. Although, it also captures many wider experiences of collective action over time in an extensive array of regions in Indonesia beyond this intervention. Even so, other CSOs, organisations, agencies and programs may use a different approach, which may have implications for women's collective action and influence on governance and structures of power that are not explored here.

Nonetheless, the findings remain helpful for a range of audiences in understanding *how* grassroots women's collective action might be supported by group structures of different kinds that involve women, and *how*, or via what mechanisms, external actors (not just CSOs) might help bolster women's influence in villages and beyond. That is, even if not working with or through CSOs as partners in initiatives to bolster gender-inclusion and women's influence in governance and other power structures, some of the features of the ways CSOs have supported women in the research sites to facilitate or augment their agency certainly constitute important learning for other settings, actors and agencies concerned with gender-inclusive governance, structures of power, and socio-economic development.

Focus: The experiences of some of Indonesia's most vulnerable rural women

It is important to note that many of those MAMPU partner organisations that work in rural areas have endeavoured to access and support some of the most vulnerable women in Indonesia, who are often the poorest of the poor in villages that themselves tend to have high aggregate levels of poverty. This includes female-headed families, survivors of domestic and other forms of gender-based violence, or homeworkers with precarious livelihoods and often below-subsistence incomes, among others. Thus, in collaborating with such organisations for the research, the study has tended to capture in ethnographic detail the voices and experiences of more vulnerable rural village women who have often experienced multiple-dimensions of poverty, and how they take action to influence development and decision making. These are the women that often fall through the cracks of poverty alleviation and social protection programs, tend to have lower formal education levels, and may be significantly socio-economically, politically or even geographically isolated.

The study also captures the experiences of other women in the rural research sites, some of whom may still experience significant challenges but do not (or no longer) have the same heightened degree of vulnerability. However, there may be further pathways for collective action (with and without external support) in other places and for other people than are captured here. The findings, nonetheless, are helpful for other agencies, programs, and facilitator networks, among others, in understanding pathways and mechanisms that might bolster women's collective action and gender inclusion, particularly for vulnerable women in Indonesia's rural localities.

Building blocks: Understanding pathways

Each section in the report overviews the research results and contributes to building a framework for understanding how women's collective action has influenced the implementation of the Village Law and variation in outcomes (Figure 1). The framework was developed through iterative analysis of multiple sets of research data and comparative case analysis and can be used to explore a larger sample of villages in other research and possibly using quantitative instruments at scale.

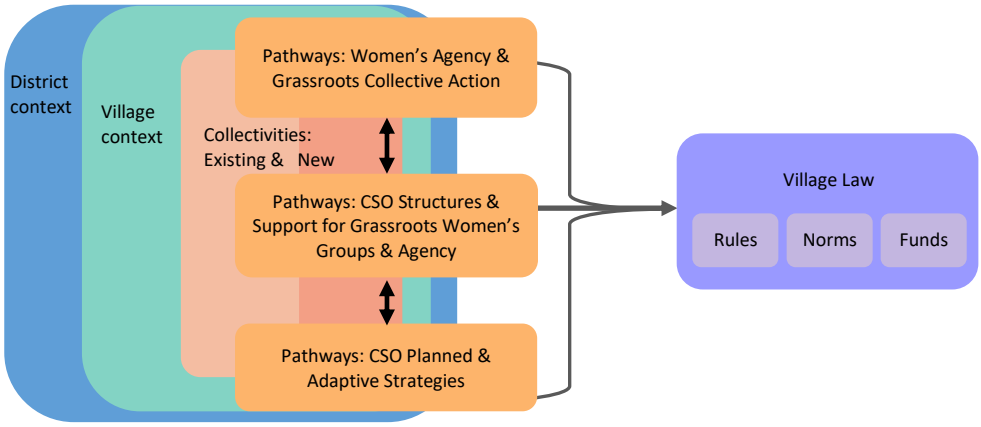
In the analysis we first establish the key features of context that have constrained or enhanced women's collective action and influence on the Village Law (Section 3). This is followed by an overview of the key Village Law impacts identified in the study and women's general perceptions and experiences over time of increasingly expressing their voice and undertaking efforts to influence village governance and decision making (Section 4). We then identify the main forms and patterns of women's grassroots collective action and the underlying drivers that have bolstered women's influence in the research villages (Section 5). In the discussion in Section 6 we also explore if and how MAMPU CSO Partners have contributed to grassroots collective action through support for women via village groups, particularly in terms of support for strengthening different forms of social capital and women's individual and collective agency to take action. In

Section 6 we also unpack the different structures and models of support provided by CSOs that have informed their on-the-ground activities and variation in ways they have supported women in villages across the research sites, including the advantages and trade-offs of different aspects of these models of support.

We then continue our discussion of pathways to analyse both the planned and unplanned strategies MAMPU Partners have used to reduce barriers to gender inclusion and to support women's empowerment in Indonesia's rural localities, with a particular focus on the ways they have navigated different constraints and opportunities in the varied contexts where they have sought to drive women's collective action and influence (Section 7). This includes the important dimensions of their work with government and non-government actors in villages and districts to help facilitate women's empowerment and their involvement in policy and other decision-making processes. The research focuses on both the dynamics in villages and the broader district environment in each case that have affected village dynamics.

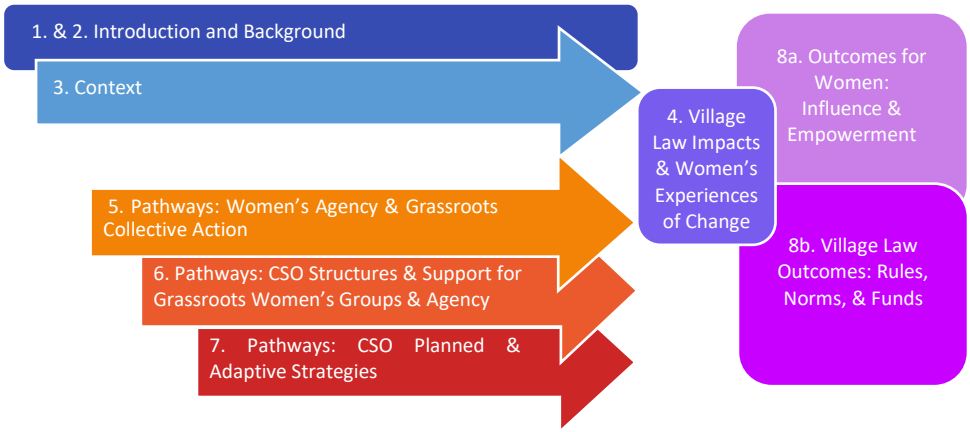
The final step seeks to bring together the comparative analysis of impacts and pathways to establish patterns of the ways women have been able to influence village governance and power structures, and the implementation of the Village Law (Section 8). We first revisit the question of the role of CSOs in supporting village women, focusing on how and to what extent they have more broadly contributed to gender inclusion and women's empowerment, collective action and influence. Through comparative analysis, we then seek to establish district and village context dynamics have both affected and interacted with women's collective action and the strategies undertaken by MAMPU Partners, and if and how this has had influence on the implementation of the Village Law.

Figure 1: Framework for Analysis



Report structure

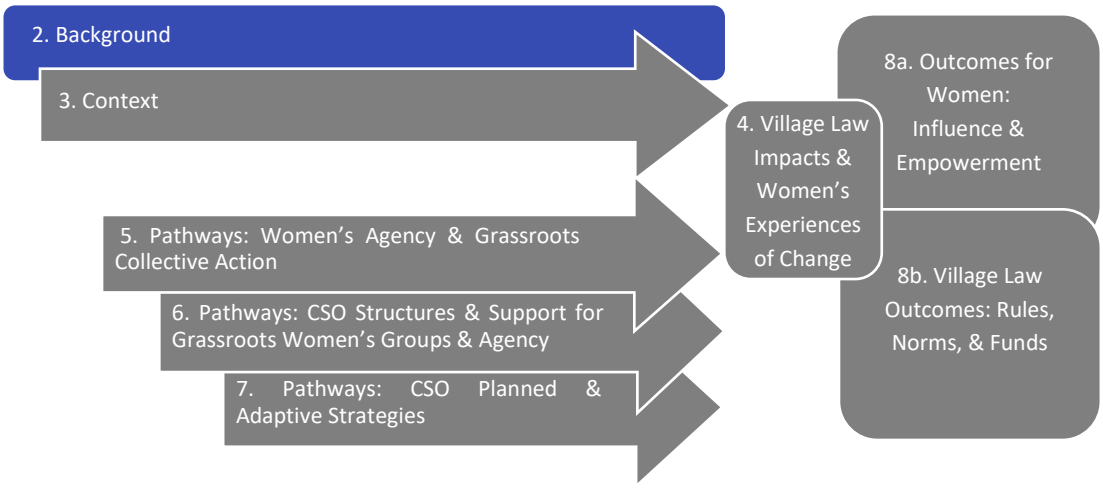
The research report is divided into the following sections:


1. & 2. Introduction and Background
3. Context
4. Village Law Impacts & Women's Experiences of Change
5. Pathways: Women's Agency & Grassroots Collective Action
6. Pathways: CSO Structures & Support for Grassroots Women's Groups & Agency
7. Pathways: CSO Planned & Adaptive Strategies
8a. Outcomes for Women: Influence & Empowerment
8b. Village Law Outcomes: Rules, Norms, & Funds

2.

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

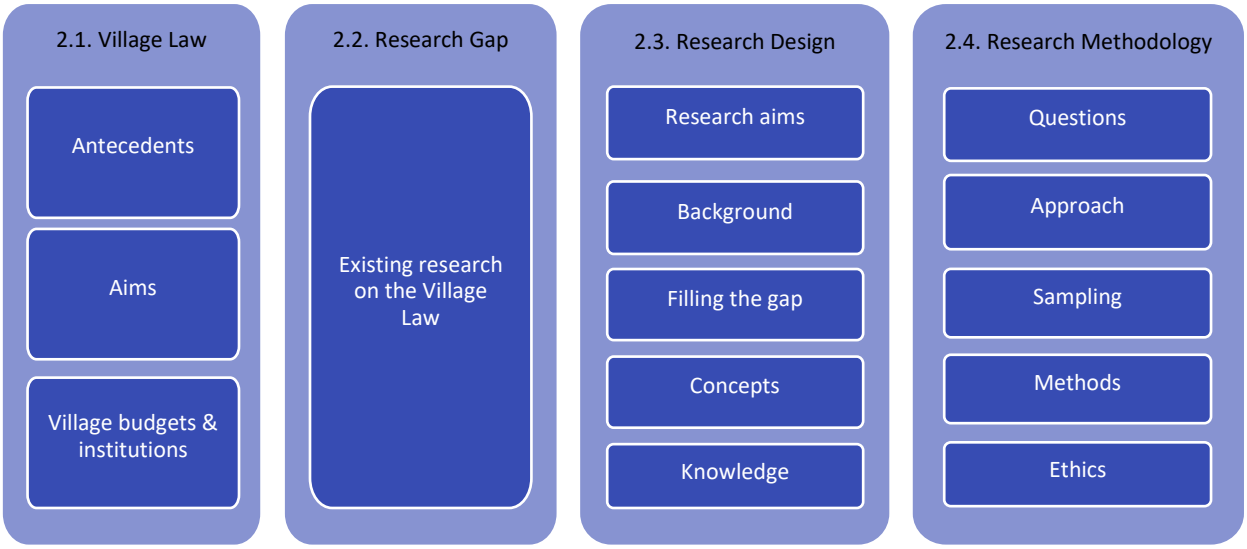
2. Background and Methodology


2. Background
3. Context
5. Pathways: Women's Agency & Grassroots Collective Action
6. Pathways: CSO Structures & Support for Grassroots Women's Groups & Agency
7. Pathways: CSO Planned & Adaptive Strategies
4. Village Law Impacts & Women's Experiences of Change
8a. Outcomes for Women: Influence & Empowerment
8b. Village Law Outcomes: Rules, Norms, & Funds

This section provides a background to the study and its methodology as is outlined in Figure 2, with further details provided in Annexes. It first overviews the evolution, aims, and key features of Indonesia's 2014 Village Law. It then briefly overviews existing research on the Law, identifying the gap in recent studies in understanding how women have influenced the implementation of the Law and the role of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in this process. We then overview how this study seeks to fill this gap and the key concepts used in relation to collective action and women's empowerment.

The report then explores the approach of the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (MAMPU) in Indonesia and the ways it supports CSO partners to bolster women's voice and influence. We further explain the research methodology used to investigate how women's influence might influence the implementation of the Village Law, including the aims, questions, site sample, and data sources and collection methods.

Figure 2: Structure and Key Content of Section 2



2.1 Indonesia's Village Law

Indonesia's Village Law—Law No. 6/2014—has introduced profound changes to Indonesia's development landscape and governance system. In the section below we briefly overview the antecedents and aims of the Law, the Law's key features and village governance institutions. We then review relevant studies exploring the early implementation of the Law and its impacts to identify the point at which this study intervenes to fill the knowledge gap on how women have influenced the implementation of the Village Law.

Antecedents and evolution

The 2014 Village Law evolved from various iterations of prior large-scale community development initiatives—such as the Kecamatan [Subdistrict] Development Program (KDP)—to support village-level governance, priority setting, and self-managed development. Just prior to and in the early years of Indonesia's democratic transition, the focus on village-level initiatives to accelerate development and tackle poverty was growing in Indonesia, especially in response to the high levels of poverty that were worsening with the impacts of the Asian Financial Crisis. In 1997, in the year prior to President Suharto's resignation, KDP was piloted in 25 villages and then scaled up in 1998 just as Indonesia overhauled its political system and decentralised significant fiscal and political authority. The structure of this program was in stark contrast to many of Indonesia's other centrally-planned development initiatives, which tended to be implemented through top-down hierarchical structures of authority and funds disbursement. KDP's funds were instead channelled directly into subdistrict accounts, bypassing higher levels.

The program was underpinned by community-driven development (CDD) principles, in which it sought to support communities to determine their development priorities, and to plan, budget, implement, and monitor small scale development projects themselves, with the support of facilitators at village, subdistrict, and district levels and the support of technical and financial planners/experts such as engineers. Project proposals were developed in villages with the support of a female and male village empowerment facilitator in each village. Special Women's Meetings were held in villages to determine priority proposals from women. Other village priority projects determined in village consultation and deliberation meetings known as *musyawarah desa* or MusDes (also sometimes referred to as Village Meetings). In inter-subdistrict forums, village projects were ranked by committees of villagers (at least half of whom were women) against a number of criteria, including poverty alleviation. As many top-ranked projects as possible were funded within the limits of the subdistrict budget allocation. This CDD pilot evolved over the next 15 years through the following phases, with many of its village development principles being enshrined in the 2014 Village Law legislation:

- KDP—Between 1998-2002, this large-scale development initiative was scaled up from the 1997 pilot to target village development across many subdistricts across Indonesia with the support of the World Bank through loans and grants, and other bilateral aid (such as the Australian Aid program) and multilateral development agencies. Villages competed for development funds for local infrastructure projects and other initiatives such as revolving savings and loans funds, supported by significant facilitation. The program went through various iterations to 2006, reaching some 20,000 villages.
- PNPM Mandiri—In 2007, the Indonesian government nationalised the program, scaling up these community-driven development methodologies through The National Community Empowerment Program (PNPM Mandiri), which was funded through Indonesia's national budget and continued support from development agencies. PNPN Mandiri ran from 2007-2014, reaching over 65,000 villages, again

with a focus on local infrastructure development and poverty alleviation, also incorporating block grants for other kinds of services and initiatives. The program was also heavily facilitated but inter-village competition was reduced.

- The Village Law—The Law legislated the authority and budgets and for village-level governance and self-managed development, further expanding the reach of the prior initiatives to include all of Indonesia's 75,000 villages. Each village receives an annual budget of approximately USD75,000. To date, facilitators in villages (*pendamping desa*) primarily support the village government for technical and administrative planning and budgeting and accountability.

The 2014 Village Law incorporates some of the original CDD principles and practices of prior programs into village government and governance, particularly community-level planning and decision making for determining development priorities through MusDes. How to best encourage participation in these meetings and decision-making processes has long been considered key to inclusive development and ensuring transparency and accountability, even for the Village Law's antecedent programs such as KDP (Barron et al., 2011). The Law does not legislate quotas or special rules for the inclusion of women, but technical rules and regulations are periodically released by the ministries responsible for supporting village governance and accountability and guiding implementation.

Aims

The 2014 Village Law has a number of aims, which are outlined in various Articles (see Box 1). While Indonesia decentralised much of the authority for political and fiscal decision making to districts (through Law No. 22/1999, Law No. 25/1999 and later revisions), the status of villages within Indonesia's structures of decision-making authority in Indonesia's governance system nonetheless remained unclear. The 2014 Village Law has clarified the status and authority of villages, including the role and responsibilities of the elected Village Head, the elected Village Consultative Council (Badan Permusyawaratan Desa, BPD[4]), and the village administration, budget allocations, decision making and accountability mechanisms.

Under the Village Law (No.6/2014) and associated regulations, villages hold origin rights (*hak asal usul*), defined as inherited rights and rights derived from community initiatives (rights to culture, community organisations and land [Article 1]). These shared histories and identities of villages inform how villages are framed under the Law as autonomous and self-managing governmental entities. Based on this principle of autonomy, villages are encouraged to identify and implement their own development priorities and policies using the funds allocated by the central government known as the Village Fund (Dana Desa), which is discussed further below.

The Law also emphasises the importance of participatory community decision making, poverty reduction and gender equity. Article 4 in particular identifies the aims of recognising diversity, increasing village community participation in development, accelerating the attainment of welfare improvements and addressing disparities in national development. Article 78 emphasises the goal of poverty reduction in village development, while other articles (26, 63) emphasise the responsibility of the village leadership to uphold democratic life in ways which are gender equitable.

[4] This is also sometimes known as the Village Representative Council (Badan Perwakilan Desa - BPD).

Box 1: Aims of the Village Law

Article 4: Aims of the regulatory arrangements

a. To give recognition and respect for villages existing prior to and after the formation of the Republic of Indonesia, and the diversity of these villages,
b. To provide clarity and legal certainty on the status of villages in the constitutional system of the Republic of Indonesia in order to bring justice for all Indonesian people,
c. To preserve and promote the customs, traditions, and culture of village communities,
d. To encourage the initiative, action, and the participation of the village communities and the potential for the development of village assets for public welfare,
e. To form a professional, efficient and effective, open, and accountable village administration,
f. To improve public services for village communities in order to accelerate the realisation of general welfare,
g. To increase the social and cultural resilience of village communities in order to realise village communities that are able to maintain social cohesion as part of national resilience,
h. To improve the economy of the village communities and address disparities of national development, and
i. To strengthen the village community as a subject of development.

Article 78: Village development

(1) Village Development aims to improve the welfare of village communities and the quality of human life and reduce poverty through the fulfillment of basic needs, the development of village infrastructure, local economic development potential, as well as the use of natural resources and the environment in a sustainable manner.

A**rticles 26 (4e), 63 (b): Gender equity**

Village Heads (or equivalent) and members of the *Badan Permusyawaratan Desa*—BPD (Village Consultative Council) must 'implement democratic life which is gender equitable'.

Village budgets and institutions

The Village Fund (Dana Desa): In addition to clarifying the status and authority of villages, the Village Law introduced the 'Village Fund', which is contributed to by the central government to the amount of 10% of regional transfer funds. Villages also receive district funding of at least 10% of the amount of national transfers to districts. Approximately USD75,000 (weighted according to village population size, geographical size and degree of poverty) is transferred annually to each of Indonesia's 75,000 villages to be used in accordance with locally-determined priorities. The newly-created Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions Development and Transmigration (herein the Ministry of Villages) and the Ministry of Home Affairs have responsibility for supporting different aspects of the implementation of the Law and for oversight. For further information on the evolution of the law, debates on the role of districts under Indonesia's decentralised system of authority, and division of responsibility for the Law, see Annex 1.

Villagers decide through MusDes how to spend the Fund (Chapter IX, Paragraph 1, Article 80). However, guidance is also provided by the Ministry of Villages on what to prioritise, which the Ministry considered was particularly important in the early phases of the rapid roll-out of the new Law when villages sought implementation support from the Ministry.

The Village Government—led by the Village Head (Kepala Desa), the Village Secretary, and village officials charged with managing the portfolios of government, welfare, and planning—is one of the key institutions under the 2014 Village Law. In contrast to previous legislation on Local Government (32/2004) in which directly-elected Village Heads were responsible to the district, the Village Law specifies that they are

responsible to the Village Consultative Council and village consultative and deliberation meetings (MusDes, or Village Meetings, mentioned above). Under Article 27 of the 2014 Law, the Village Head's accountability to their constituents is realised through publishing and socialising an annual report on village administration. Likewise, the Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 114/2015 extended this responsibility to disseminate information to the community to include the socialisation of a work plan and the village budget in consultative meetings.

The Village Consultative Council is a body designed to represent community interests. It must coordinate an annual MusDes with the village government and 'community elements' (*unsur masyarakat*), or different sections of the community to plan yearly and long-term budgets (Article 54). MusDes thus represent a key mechanism designed to foster participation and ensure accountability. MusDes can also be convened to address village planning (*musrenbangdes*), investment plans, the formation of village-owned enterprises (BUMDes), village asset management, and in response to extraordinary events (Article 2). Council members have the right to draft Village Regulations (Perdes, Peraturan Desa) with the exception of regulations related to their village's Medium-Term Development Plan (Syukri et al., 2018, 19). Further, the Village Representative Council organises a separate ad hoc committee to coordinate the election of the Village Head.

2.2 The gap: Existing research on Indonesia's Village Law

While the roll out of the Village Law is still in early iterations, several studies have begun to assess its impact. Some of these focus on national level impacts, for example Suryahadi et al.'s (2018) examination of the impact of the Village Law—and other reforms of the Joko Widodo government—on economic growth and household income. Of most relevance to this study, however, is research exploring the impact of the Village Law on local-level governance (Salim et al., 2017; Antlov et al., 2016; Syukri et al., 2017, 2018; and Vel and Bedner, 2015, among others). These studies identify a range of shifts over time, in which the introduction of the Law has made local governance more inclusive in some ways, but has also deepened inequality in other ways. From these studies we explore relevant findings for community participation, the role of civil society organisations, gender participation, changes to governance practice as a result of the Village Law, and gender impacts.

The most recent large-scale research on the Village Law has been undertaken by the World Bank together with the SMERU Research Institute through the Sentinel Villages Study. The Sentinel Villages Study consisted of a mixed-methods baseline study of the first two years of the implementation of the Law from 2015-16 (the study was then extended to 2017), the qualitative component of which was published by Syukri et al. in 2017 and some of the mixed-methods findings were published by the World Bank in 2018 (see Dharmawan et al., 2018). The research investigates the implementation of the Village Law and the quality of Village Fund spending. It was conducted in 10 villages spread across five districts in three provinces (Jambi, Central Java, and East Nusa Tenggara—NTT). Prior Local Level Institutions (LLI) studies were also conducted in these same sites by researchers with the support of the World Bank in 1996, 2000-01 and 2012 in order to trace changes over time in the implementation of the KDP and PNPM programs mentioned above.

Community participation: The structures of governance introduced with the Village Law have the potential to enhance government responsiveness at the local level through active citizens and more participatory institutions (Antlov et al., 2016). The Sentinel Villages Study investigated general community participation in the implementation of the Village Law, with a particular focus on participation in MusDes, as well as the

transparency and accountability of village governments. The Study baseline (2015-2016) concluded that in some places there was limited participation in these meetings, not all village meetings are inclusive, and women are often less likely to attend village and hamlet-level meetings than men (Dharmawan, et al., 2018). In general, villagers tended not to participate in meetings—and especially when they are not invited—due to high opportunity costs and the perception that discussions only related to village government and community leaders (Dharmawan et al., 2018). Thus, the challenges of encouraging participation evident in prior LLI studies of KDP and PNPM have not receded with the scale up of CDD introduced under the Village Law. The Sentinel Village Study authors argue that a continued focus on supporting community participation and empowerment is needed. Certainly, the new regulations introduced in 2019—after the Sentinel Villages Study and this research were undertaken (see Annex 1)—by the Ministry of Villages seek to do this.

The role of civil society organisations: It is important to note that in very few of the village research sites in the Sentinel Villages Study was there a strong presence of CSOs focused on supporting village communities or the implementation of the Village Law. Thus, given this significant gap in the sample, understanding the ways that CSOs might strengthen local governance, gender inclusion, and the implementation of the Village Law was beyond the scope of the Sentinel Villages Study. As a result, the Sentinel Villages Study tends not to identify in detail the multiple pathways by which women might influence Village Law implementation, or the effects of CSO advocacy and programs.

Gender participation: While the Sentinel Villages Study baseline reports identify the limited participation of women in village decision-making forums, Syukri et al. (2017) also identify ways that the functioning of the Village Fund could be improved by empowering villagers and strengthening local institutions such as the Village Consultative Council and village community institutions (LKD). The baseline reports (Syukri et. al, 2017; Dharmawan et al., 2018) also found, that when they participated, female village activists were highly engaged in meetings at the village level. While finding ways to overcome participation in meetings is not a new challenge for CDD, such indications highlight that people who have an activist background or are supported by CSO gender-inclusion initiatives may be more likely to exercise voice and influence in village decision-making meetings. If this is found to be the case more widely in other research such as the present study, it is an important input for efforts supporting inclusion and finding ways to bolster women's influence in village development and ultimately poverty reduction.

Changes to governance practices as a result of the Village Law: Syukri et al. (2017) argue the Village Law potentially enables more accountable governance through the increased amount of funding going directly to villages. Yet, the implementation of the 2014 Law relies, to a considerable degree, on the understanding and interpretations of local leaders about governance. Susan and Budirahay (2018, 26) find that 'though the village government may know about the law on villages… they still do not fully understand and practice the principles of good governance—particularly transparency, accountability, and information distribution'. Thus, while the Village Law could have substantial impact on governance reforms, a broad lack of knowledge about principles of good governance amongst local leaders has the potential to undermine these reforms. Indeed, Salim et al. (2017) contend that the ambiguity in roles and responsibilities and lack of citizen participation in practice has meant the implementation of the Village Law constrains governance reform in some ways. This is evident in the discussion in Annex 1 on the different interpretations of the Law among the responsible ministries and corresponding implementing regulations.

Gender impacts: The Sentinel Villages Study baseline report (Syukri et al., 2017, 2018) highlight how the implementation of the Village Law often revolves around practical needs rather than challenging often

sensitive ideologies and norms around gender roles. Village Fund decision making in practice focuses on infrastructure and the village economy and not necessarily on other investments that may represent the preferences of women. Similarly, in their analysis of two villages in Central Java that are regarded as successful in governance reform, Kushandajani and Alfirdaus (2019) also observe that women are often excluded from decision making roles, tend to perform support roles and remain underrepresented in MusDes, and women's concerns are often cast as being secondary in importance. In a study of West Kalimantan, Vos (2018) also identifies how new land claims have emerged with the introduction of the Village Law, but this use of Village Law to support land rights claims did not mean that processes were inclusive of women. Further, the Village Law clarifies the status of villages and gives recognition to customary forms of local governance, such as the custom and tradition communities in village-like structures (e.g. the *nagari* in West Sumatra). Based on their research, Vel and Bedner (2015) ask whether the Village Law will stimulate progressive changes in inclusive local governance in Indonesia more broadly, or alternatively, stimulate a shift to traditional systems of governance that may or may not be inclusive of different gender needs.

The gap: All of these studies above highlight that it cannot be assumed that the introduction of the Village Law will necessarily result in more inclusive governance. Despite the aims of the Law and its efforts to legislate aspects of community driven development, this has not necessarily resulted in more inclusive village development in the early implementation of the Law, particularly for women. The Sentinel Villages Study does, however, suggest that the Village Law still presents an opportunity to drive gender equality in Indonesia—if government decision makers are able to take that opportunity. Across these studies, limited examples have been identified of where women have indeed influenced the village development and the implementation of the Law, but none deeply investigates the conditions under which this occurs or how such influence is exercised. Further, while the above studies draw on examples of civil society engagement in governance reform at the village level, these studies have not examined how CSOs may contribute to such influence, support more vulnerable groups and rural communities more generally, or support government decision makers at multiple levels to harness the opportunities to drive improvements in gender equity.

2.3 Research background and design

Research aims

This research aims to better understand to what extent and in what ways women exert influence on the implementation of the Village Law, the Village Fund and village development in Indonesia and the role of civil society organisations in this process. Specifically, this research focuses on women's collective informal and formal influence on Village Law outcomes for the benefit of women and other potentially socially marginalised groups.

Background to the study: MAMPU-CSO Partnerships and experience

Women's empowerment and gender inclusion, through building voice, activism and collective action, has long been a key focus of women leaders, the broader women's movement and many civil society organisations concerned with gender equity in Indonesia. Many women's CSOs nationally and locally have been pivotal to Indonesia's reform movement and influencing the policy agenda to give greater attention to legal protections and policies that improve women's welfare. Well prior to this, for decades, women's organisations, be it service providers (such as in health), religious organisations, and in state-corporatist

institutions such as women's farmers groups (see Section 5) had long worked to improve women's welfare and continue to do so.

The Indonesian women's movement (See Section 5) has made notable achievements in reducing gender inequality, particularly in seeking to reduce violence against women and improve labour force participation as well as in advocating for the reduction in instances of child marriage. As a result, Indonesia has made progress in achieving gender equality, but such improvements have been incremental and uneven, particularly in poor, rural areas.[5] As with other countries, achieving gender equality remains a challenge in Indonesia, with the weaknesses in the implementation of the Village Law identified by the above studies being no exception.

MAMPU: To support the work of organisations, networks, and other institutions—particularly women's CSOs—in improving gender equality, the Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (MAMPU) funded by the Australian Aid program provided funding, program design and implementation support to its CSO partners for their core activities and for specific projects—for the purposes of this study our reference to CSOs includes mass organisations made up of women, such as the religious mass organisation 'Aisyiyah. MAMPU began in 2012 (in a design phase, being fully operational by late 2013) as an eight-year initiative to contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment in Indonesia. Broadly, the program, with its partnership approach, sought to increase women's voice and influence on decision making at multiple levels from the village to national parliament through networks of civil society organisations (MAMPU Partners).

MAMPU supported the strengthening of women's collective capacity and resources to influence decision making at various levels and to help build choices for women, mirroring in part the emphasis of development agencies on enhancing women's access to resources. However, it also directly supported its CSO partners (in organisational development) and indirectly the village women's groups established or strengthened by these CSOs, with the aim of taking a more socially transformative role through collective action. For more details on the MAMPU empowerment framework see Annex 2.

In its first phase, MAMPU and its Partners focused more on policy development and implementation at district and national levels (Kelly and Wardini, 2019). However, changes in Indonesia's social and political context at the time, including growing conservatism and slowed economic growth, created significant challenges for the women's movement (Kelly and Wardini, 2019). Meanwhile, women's organisations identified that the introduction of the Village Law, provided significant opportunities to undertake efforts to deepen grassroots gender inclusion in villages. Decentralising some aspects of political and fiscal authority in Indonesia to the village level had created much greater potential for women at the grassroots to have a say in the use of public funds. MAMPU program reviews at the time also emphasised the importance of additional support from MAMPU to CSO partners to scale up on-the-ground initiatives in villages to further anchor policy influence and advocacy efforts. Thus, in Phase 2, based on inputs from its CSO partners, MAMPU scaled-up support to its CSO partners to:

- Intensify efforts to establish or strengthen women's groups in villages, with the aim of bolstering collective action,

[5] The UNDP HDI report for 2018 ranks Indonesia as a country experiencing 'medium equality' between men and women.

- Scale-up a variety of skills-building activities with these groups and others, including raising gender awareness,
- Support these groups in their economic activities, service provision and efforts to influence village development,
- Support villages in designing policy frameworks, regulations and development activities to benefit women, and
- Continue undertaking wider policy advocacy as well as providing support to national government and districts in policy design.

Filling the knowledge gap: Question and contributions

In 2018, as the results of these initial studies of the early implementation of the Village Law became clear, particularly in relation to gender inclusiveness and impacts, a number of organisations such as the Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (JPAL) were considering introducing pilots and random controlled trials to try and improve outcomes for women under the Village Law. However, there was insufficient existing research on how this process might be achieved.

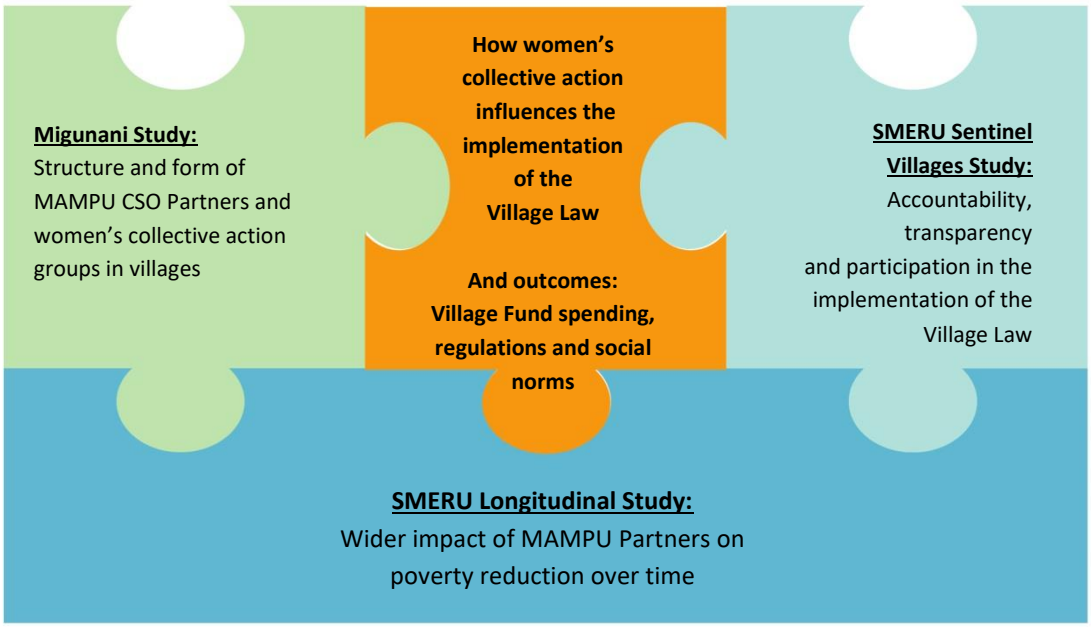
Significant interventions and learning by women's CSOs in this space had taken place, including among MAMPU Partners. Evidence was emerging in MAMPU monitoring reports of village women's groups influencing village development. The SMERU (2018) mid-line study of MAMPU program impacts undertaken in 2017 had identified some examples of where the Village Fund has been used to support social protection in health, in peatland environmental restoration programs, and to provide support for women's initiatives. Discussions with the implementors of the Sentinel Villages Study for the present research also revealed that they found one or two examples where there was a culture of cross-gender participation in village decision making (e.g. established through legacy programs of KDP and PNPM). For example, in the study site in NTT, women were more active in village decision making. In other sites, one or two examples were identified in which there were efforts of CSOs to encourage women's participation in village decision making, with varied success in influencing outcomes. **However, no large-scale study had been undertaken to:**

- **Learn from these experiences or to investigate in depth and at scale the processes by which women have influenced the implementation of the Village Law and village development,**
- **Understand how such influence had varied across Indonesia,**
- **Identify what has constrained or enabled such influence, and**
- **Determine what has been the role for CSOs—as a structured, organised form of collective action that often operates to support village women but also beyond the village—in this process.**

Prior independent research commissioned by MAMPU such as the Migunani (2017) study had identified the different types of women's groups that had emerged or been strengthened in villages with the support of Partner CSOs and the motivations for women to participate in these groups. However, this study did not look at the ways such groups sought to influence village power structures and decision making under the Village Law. Thus, whilst important work has been done to study these fields separately, a gap in knowledge remained about the ways in which women's collective action and efforts by CSOs to empower women intersected with Village Law implementation in Indonesia (see Figure 3 below). Thus, the MAMPU program and its CSO Partners supported this independent study to help fill this gap in determining: in what contexts, to what extent and through what mechanisms has local collective action by women influenced the implementation of the Village Law, and what has been the role for CSOs in this process?

In answering this question, this study seeks to understand the direct and indirect ways that women influence the implementation of the Village Law collectively to bring about positive changes for women. More specifically it investigates women's collective action, often via groups, or formal and informal networks, to influence the implementation of the Village Law, and the role for women's CSOs in this process. Many studies, including the Sentinel Villages Study, also find that decision making is influenced through processes that precede or are unrelated to village meetings in which decisions might be formalised. Thus, this study undertakes a comparative examination of a range of mechanisms by which women might exercise influence that go beyond village meetings, and seeks to trace processes of women's influence over time so as to situate any emerging changes within broader context dynamics.

Figure 3: The Gap in Research on Women's Empowerment and the Village Law


Migunani Study:
Structure and form of MAMPU CSO Partners and women's collective action groups in villages
How women's collective action influences the implementation of the Village Law
And outcomes: Village Fund spending, regulations and social norms
SMERU Sentinel Villages Study:
Accountability, transparency and participation in the implementation of the Village Law
SMERU Longitudinal Study:
Wider impact of MAMPU Partners on poverty reduction over time

In so doing, this study endeavours to gain a rich understanding of the village level dynamics that drive, shape and constrain women's collective influence on the implementation of the Village Law. It uses in-depth comparative research design to account for variation in village and district contexts, and the presence and nature of women's groups and networks, which is necessary for identifying different forms and drivers of influence and constraints on women's collective action and influence through Indonesia's diverse regions.

Another key contribution of this study is in examining the interaction between village-level and district-level influences on the implementation of the Village Law. The above literature on the Village Law is primarily focused on the implementation at the village level. There are some reflections on the influence of the district, for example, Salim et al. (2017) describe the ways that district leadership can control village election outcomes. In the analysis in the coming sections we seek to extend this work and describe the complex interactions between district and village and how this impacts on the implementation of the Village Law and women's collective action.

The findings of this study can be used by MAMPU Partners as well as stakeholders involved in implementing the Village Law to:

- Inform initiatives to support women's collective influence on village-level decision making,
- Design strategies to mitigate the challenges to women's collective influence on, and participation in, village-level activities, and

- Influence policy and regulation-making regarding the implementation of the Village Law to bring about better outcomes for all women.

Concepts: Power, empowerment, and collective action

Collective action

As discussed in detail in Section 5, we conceptualise women's collective action as actions undertaken by groups and networks, predominantly made up of women although often too with others, that seek to create positive changes in women's lives. We distinguish between when these actions seek to create positive changes for women in their everyday lives in general, and when this relates specifically to creating such changes via influence on governance processes and structures of power, which is important for understanding women's influence on Village Law implementation. We distinguish between formal forms of collective action, i.e. through organisation and government structures, and informal collective action which takes place within more fluid social networks. The distinction between formal and informal collective action is of particular importance to this study as it is believed that the engagement with these types is gendered (Pandolfelli et al., 2008; Agarwal 2000), with women more often excluded from formal collective action.

Across the research sites in this study, we have found examples of collective action that are both formal and informal in nature. Formal collective action includes women's participation in village governance forums such as MusDes and/or Musrenbangdes. At the same time, women were engaged in informal practices of collective action, for instance by creating and participating in spaces (i.e. women's groups) through which they can exercise voice, and through networks developed through social interactions, livelihoods and other connections that they leverage to exercise influence, such as to gain the support of influential social and political actors. While the exact shape and extent of women's collective action differs both across and within research sites, through these activities women were increasingly able to exercise their influence and power, develop their capacities, improve their own wellbeing and that of their families, and ultimately shape the implementation of the Village Law.

What is women's empowerment?

While this study is focused on women's collective action, underlying such action is the extent to which women are able to exercise influence within processes of decision making that might otherwise be less inclusive, and ultimately have the power to effect outcomes. This includes exercising voice as an expression of women's power—individually and collectively—as well as women's direct and indirect influence over village power structures so as to shape outcomes under the Village Law. In tracing changes in the ways women are collectively able to influence the Village Law implementation and outcomes, and in identifying what factors (including interventions) have supported or constrained this influence, we gain an understanding of processes of women's empowerment.

While women's empowerment is central to the work of development agencies across the world, the term 'empowerment' sometimes remains undefined or used in different ways (Porter, 2013; Cornwall, 2007; Batliwala, 2007). For many feminists, the value of the concept lies in exactly this 'fuzziness' as it gives them considerable scope to develop their programs (Kabeer, 1999). Within development discourse generally, enhancing the economic status of women, equal participation in decision making and leadership and improved health and education outcomes are all considered to promote gender equity; which in turn, is deemed central to economic and human development (Porter, 2013). Furthermore, empowering women as

political and social actors is broadly assumed to lead to a more equitable redistribution of public goods to disadvantaged or marginalised groups.

Many feminist researchers and advocates stress it is important to think about women's empowerment in terms of 'capabilities' or 'choice'. Nussbaum (2011, x) stresses the importance of asking: "What are people actually able to do and to be? What real opportunities are available to them?". **Kabeer (1999, 437) encapsulates the dimension of choice in her definition of empowerment:**

> **"the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability".**

The ability to exercise choice is often conceptualised to entail three interrelated dimensions: resources, agency, and achievements (see Box 2). While such categories are helpful for efforts to measure empowerment, it is important too to emphasise the nature of empowerment as a process rather than merely a set of tangible indicators (Kabeer, 1999; Batliwala, 2011).

Box 2: Dimensions of Empowerment

Resources (pre-conditions) are not only material resources but refer broadly to the human and social resources through which people can exercise choice. Resources are acquired through social relationships (that is: family and community).

Agency (process) is the ability to define goals and act upon them. While agency is often considered as the ability to make decisions, it may take on other forms such as 'bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance as well as more intangible, cognitive processes of reflection and analysis'. (Kabeer 1999, 438)

Achievements (outcomes) refer to the potential of people to live the way they want. Sen (1985) describes this as people achieving valued ways of being and doing. (Source: Kabeer, 1999)

MAMPU's framework for supporting its CSO Partners, and CSO partner advocacy and support for villages, are often described as 'women's empowerment' initiatives so as to convey the intention of their efforts to strengthen the power of women. Throughout this report we also occasionally use the label 'women's empowerment initiatives' to convey the empowerment intention of specific activities and efforts, and we use the term when policies and programs are labelled in this way. However, we do not assume such efforts have necessarily had empowerment effects for women. At the end of the comparative analysis, we do, however, return to the question of empowerment and the empowerment effects of CSO support for village women examined in this study.

Power

The definition of power is also central to understanding women's empowerment. VeneKlasen and Miller (2002, 39) distinguish four types of power and four realms of power (see Box 3). Within the field of community development specifically, there is growing emphasis on fostering the latter three types of power (power with; power to and power within), which are considered more collaborative and equitable (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002). However, VeneKlasen and Miller (2002, 40) contend that different types of power should be considered and that endeavours to empower women should distinguish the three 'realms' of power: the public, private and the intimate realms (See Box 3).

Box 3: Four Types of Power and Three Realms of Power

Types of power

Power over—The most commonly recognised form of power, power over, has many negative associations for people, such as repression, wealth, force, coercion, discrimination, corruption, and abuse. Power is seen as a win-lose relationship.

Power with—to do with finding common ground among different interests and building collective strength.

Power to—refers to the unique potential of every person to shape his or her life and world.

Power within—has to do with a person's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge.

Realms of power

Public realm—the visible face of power as it affects women and men in their jobs, public life, legal rights etc.

Private realm—refers to relationships and roles in families, among friends, sexual partnerships, marriage, etc.

Intimate realm—one's sense of self, personal confidence, psychology, and relationship to body and health.

(Source: VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002, 39-40)

Knowledge, choices, and values: The importance of leadership and context

For many women, in reality empowerment combines the different dimensions above. This serves as a reminder that resources (for example, access to credit, legal provisions for political participation or enhanced education) are 'unlikely to be automatically empowering in themselves, but they do create the vantage point of alternatives, which allows a more transformatory consciousness to come into play' (Kabeer 1999, 462). That is, as women become increasingly aware of options from which they may have been excluded, or of information and knowledge that was previously unavailable to them, doors open that spur deeper social transformation.

Indeed, the notion of empowerment relies to some extent on the different aspirations of women; hence, the emphasis in the definitions described above, on women's enhanced capacity to make choices about their own lives. Feminist leadership helps create spaces for women to increase their awareness, knowledge and potential for action, which in turn has implications for changing power dynamics so as to be more equitable. Batliwala (2011, 37) explains such leadership should entail two goals: firstly to **'challenge visible, hidden and invisible power… especially where it constructs and reinforces women's subordination'** and secondly, to '**strive to make the practise of power visible, democratic, legitimate and accountable, at all levels, and in both private and public realms.'**

Adding further complexity to tracing women's empowerment is that its dimensions vary according to context. For instance, given the variation in social, cultural and religious norms within and across countries, it is unlikely that all people in a given society agree on valued ways of being and doing. This is one of the reasons why we first explore contexts in detail in this report to understand how they may shape the pathways for women to exercise influence. People's aspirations may also differ in various life stages. While for some women empowerment manifests as enhanced social belonging, others feel empowered as they access more knowledge or social services. **While we acknowledge in this study that the notion of women's empowerment is fragmented; it is fundamentally about women's capacity to exercise choice and to individually and collectively experience positive change in their lives.**

2.4 Research methodology

Specific research questions

As mentioned, the overarching research questions are concerned with determining: in what contexts, to what extent and through what mechanisms has local collective action by women influenced the implementation of the Village Law? And what has been the role for CSOs in this process? More specifically the questions this research seeks to answer are:

1. In what ways [if any] has women's collective action (e.g. through organisations, groups and networks, and through formal and informal processes and action) been able to influence village development priorities and the implementation of the Village Law?
2. What has been the role of civil society organisations (as a structured form of collective action) in supporting grassroots women's collective action and the implementation of the Village Law?
3. What factors within the external institutional environment or village actor networks enable or constrain women in exercising influence on village development and decision making in order to meet their needs?
4. How do these dynamics vary by village and district contexts?

In order to answer these broad questions, this study will use qualitative research methods to undertake a deep analysis of the mechanisms by which local collective action by women in MAMPU village locations has influenced the implementation of the Village Law. We established a sub-set of more operational questions to investigate village and district contexts and cases of emerging influence from women's collective action on the implementation of the Village Law to establish:

1. The extent to which the implementation of the Village Law and the Village Fund is accommodating the needs of women.
2. The ways in which women's collective action through groups and networks (with or without the support of civil society organisations), has sought to influence village decision making, the creation of new Village Regulations, and the disbursement of the Village Fund, to meet their needs.
3. If and to what extent women's collective action has influenced social norms through efforts to influence the implementation of the Village Law more widely.
4. Which actors, mechanisms, processes and capacities have been instrumental in exercising this influence and why.
5. The enabling and constraining factors within the external institutional environment and village networks of actors for exercising this influence.
6. How women might have achieved influence when they did not have the support (or the initial support) of the village government.
7. If possible, whether similar processes of initiating women's collective action have taken place outside of MAMPU-supported arenas, or whether there are aspects of MAMPU's support to its partners and women's collective groups that have enabled influence on the implementation of the Village Law that may not have otherwise taken place without this support.

Research approach

A critical aspect of this study was the involvement of MAMPU CSO Partners in the research design at the beginning of the study. This is an important aspect of feminist research design, for accessing field research sites (also with the permission of the relevant authorities) and for ensuring the quality of the research and

the relevance of the findings for future efforts to bolster gender inclusion and women's empowerment. A Collaborative Discussion and Study Planning Workshop was held in January 2019 to design the research and select study sites together with almost all of MAMPU's core partners.[6] The research design, data collection tools, site selection and proposed analysis framework were discussed and finalised throughout the workshop in partnership with these CSO representatives. Later workshops and webinars were also held with CSO Partners for iterative reflections and analysis.

This study is grounded in strong operational and logistical thoroughness to extract rich, in-depth, qualitative data about the influence of women's collective action on the implementation of the Village Law, the Village Fund and village development in Indonesia. Whilst this study employs mostly (mixed) qualitative methods so as to focus on understanding the mechanisms by which women might influence the implementation of the Village Law, some quantitative data is also analysed to better understand the potential generalisability of the findings across all MAMPU's project sites.

This study is not only focused on identifying the influence of women's collective action on the Village Law, Village Fund and village development priorities in Indonesia; but also, on how and in what context this influence takes place. Therefore, underpinning this study is a model of theory-driven evaluation called 'realistic evaluation', first described by Pawson and Tilley (1997). Pawson and Tilley argue that not only is it important to identify the outcomes of interventions (which is the focus of quasi-experimental evaluation models), but it is also important to understand how these outcomes are brought about and what is significant about the context within which these outcomes arise. Hence, in this study we comparatively investigate contexts, mechanisms and outcomes and the messy, somewhat blurry overlap between them in the study (See Box 4). For more details on how this framework informs the design and analysis, see Annex 4.

Box 4: Contexts, Mechanisms and Outcomes

Contexts: An array of sites that covered different socio-cultural contexts, geographies, proximities to services and structures of power were selected (at village and district levels) such that the final sample would include a range of degrees of contextual conduciveness to gender inclusiveness and women's collective action; that is, some sites that were highly conducive to gender inclusion, some that were not conducive and some in-between.

Mechanisms: An array of sites that included a variety (or absence) of women's collective action groups and other actors as well as variety in the types, levels and processes of support provided to such groups by MAMPU.

Outcomes: An array of sites which included a variety in the level of influence that women's collective action had on the Village Law, Village Fund and village development priorities; that is, some sites where there was no CSO presence, some sites where there was minimal influence and others where there were changes in regulations, laws or social norms.

Sampling frame

Indonesia boasts extraordinary cultural, political and economic diversity. There is also a wide range in access to services and supporting budgets from regencies and provinces, as well as in the influence of customary

[6] 'Aisyiyah, PERMAMPU, KAPAL Perempuan, PEKKA, Migrant CARE, FPL, BaKTI, BITRA, Yasanti, TURC. A key partner—Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (KPI)—was unable to attend the Collaborative Discussion and Study Planning Workshop. The research team engaged KPI representatives at later stages to involve them in the study, however, they were unable to participate due to staff changes and internal constraints.

and ethnic or religious organisations. When this study began in 2019, MAMPU's Partners consisted of 13 large national or regional women's civil society organisations and consortium networks that focus on women's issues. Many of these large-scale organisations and consortiums have provincial and district organisational partners. In total, at the time the study was undertaken MAMPU was directly and indirectly supporting 122 partners at national and subnational levels. MAMPU-supported initiatives were operating in 1,137 villages, in 147 districts and municipalities, across 27 provinces in Indonesia.

Whilst this study could not represent all regions in Indonesia, it was designed to capture a diverse range of regions in Indonesia and places where activities were underway across MAMPU's five core thematic areas mentioned below. We also capture two sites with no evident CSO presence, one on and one off the island of Java. During and in many cases after the program, MAMPU CSO Partners have undertaken advocacy and provided support for village women and the groups of which they are members in five thematic areas. These thematic areas were selected based on their importance to relevant civil society groups, both the governments of Indonesia and Australia, and assessments of scope for achieving results. The thematic areas are:

1. Increasing access to social protection programs.
2. Improving conditions for women's overseas labour migration.
3. Improving work conditions and removing workplace discrimination (especially for women home-based workers).
4. Improving women's health and nutrition.
5. Reducing violence against women.[7]

Research sites were selected to cover both context diversity and the five themes of MAMPU CSO Partner activities. The research sites were also selected to be able to explore how village women might have influence on the implementation of the Village Law in rural Indonesia, if indeed they were able to do so, and to also establish the effects of CSO support for these women. Other studies on the early implementation of the Village Law mentioned above find that village women have tended to be less likely to influence the implementation of the Village Law at scale (see for example, Syukri et al. [2017, 2018] and Dharmawan et al. [2018]) and other related research). However, these studies had few sites in the research sample where there were active civil society groups giving attention to Village Law implementation, and did not investigate in detail the mechanisms by which women have influenced Village Law implementation in the instances that this did occur.

To fill this gap, this research uses a method of positive deviance for site selection. The research includes sites in different regions across Indonesia where women's influence on Village Law implementation may have occurred and identifies and analyses the mechanisms underpinning such influence. The research also includes sites where CSOs were and were not operating to support village women.

During the initial planning workshop, the research team worked with MAMPU Partner organisations to identify the criteria for capturing Indonesia's socio-cultural, economic and geographic diversity, and the range of opportunities and challenges for women, as well as to narrow down the selection of research sites

[7] The MAMPU program also supports reform and leadership in each of these core focus areas through two broad strategies. Firstly, by supporting women's and gender-interest organisations to mobilise networks and coalitions that can influence policy and make practical investments at the local level. Secondly, by supporting female parliamentarians and male gender-advocates to play a greater role in advocating for reforms (MAMPU, 2012).

to a long list of places where they thought women may have influenced the implementation of the Village Law. From this long-list, a short list was established to accommodate as many regions and as much diversity as possible within the available resources.

Overall, nine provinces, 12 districts, and 14 villages were selected for the study. This included regions where MAMPU Partners' activities were underway across the five themes (12 villages/districts) and two control villages where no CSO interventions were underway.

Given that the authority of the Village Law is focused on rural villages (rather than, in most cases, the urban equivalent precincts [*kelurahan*]), deeper studies were conducted in 10 districts/10 core rural villages. This covered regions on and off Java and MAMPU Partner support to rural village women under the umbrella of four of MAMPU's core focus issues (social protection, migrant workers, reducing violence against women, and reproductive health and nutrition).

Given the different conditions on and off Java in Indonesia, it was also determined that the two control villages should reflect this dichotomy to test assumptions and strengthen the comparative findings of the aspects of change attributed to women's collective action. One village was selected in the Pangkajene Islands District (South Sulawesi Province, Sulawesi Island) and a second village in Gresik District (East Java Province, Java Island) where there were also no known interventions or support for village women undertaken by CSOs.

MAMPU Partners are also focused on a fifth issue, supporting women improve their work conditions, in particular homeworkers engaged in cottage industry livelihoods that often form a part of the supply chain of larger industries or supply to smaller enterprises. These 'homeworkers' are often located in peri-urban and urban precincts (*kelurahan)* but also sometimes in villages, the latter of which fall within the authority of the Village Law. We undertook lighter studies (through case work) in two case study districts where homeworkers were located in *villages* (one on and one off Java) as this may partially intersect with Village Law implementation.

Throughout this report in the analysis, we have guarded the identities of the research villages (referring only to the district in which they are located) to protect identifiable respondents and guard their right to confidentiality.

Figure 4 maps the geographic spread of the research sites and Table 1 shows the site selection and the focus of the CSOs. Further information is provided in Annex 3 on these national MAMPU Partner organisations, and their subnational CSO implementing partners.

Figure 4: Map of the Research Locations and CSO Partners

Table 1: Sample—Research Sites, CSOs and MAMPU Theme

	Propinsi (Province)	Kabupaten (District)	MAMPU CSO Partner	Focus area
1	East Java	Bangkalan	**PEKKA** (Female Headed Families Empowerment Foundation)	Social protection
2	West Java	Cirebon	**'Aisyiyah,** Religious Mass Organisation	Women's health & nutrition
3	East Java	Gresik	**KAPAL Perempuan** (The Institute for Women's Alternative Education) and its local partner **KPS2K**—(Women's Groups and Sources of Life organisation - Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan)	Social protection
4	South Sulawesi	Pangkajene & Islands, (Pangkep)	**KAPAL Perempuan** and its local partner **YKPM** (Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation—Yayasan Pengkajian Pemberdayaan Masyarakat)—and other influence of DFAT programs (KOMPAK)	Social protection
5	Lampung	Tanggamus	The **DAMAR** Women's Advocacy Institute, as a part of **PERMAMPU** (Consortium of Women's Organisations in Sumatra)	Women's health & nutrition
6	South Kalimantan	North Hulu Sungai	**PEKKA** (Female Headed Families Empowerment Foundation)	Social protection
7	West Nusa Tenggara (NTB)	Central Lombok	**Migrant CARE** and its local partner the **Panca Karsa Association** (Perkumpulan Panca Karsa)	Overseas labour migration conditions
8	West Nusa Tenggara (NTB)	East Lombok	**BaKTI** (The Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange Foundation)	Reducing violence against women
9	East Nusa Tenggara (NTT)	North Central Timor, TTU (Timor Tengah Utara)	**FPL** (Forum for Service Providers - Forum Pengada Layanan) and its local partner **YABIKU** (Village Women's Care Foundation - Yayasan Amnaut Bife "Kuan")	Reducing violence against women
10	North Sumatra	Labuhan Batu	**FPL** and its local partner **SPI Labuhan Batu** (Independent Women's Union - Serikat Perempuan Independen)	Reducing violence against women
11	Yogyakarta	Bantul	**Yasanti** (Annisa Swasti Foundation - Yayasan Annisa Swasti)	Work conditions
12	North Sumatra	Deli Serdang/Medan	**BITRA** (Indonesian Foundation for Rural Capacity Building—Bina Ketrampilan Pedesaan Indonesia)	Work conditions
13	East Java	Gresik	None (Control)	Not applicable
14	South Sulawesi	Pangkep	None (Control)	Not applicable

Research methods

Qualitative research methods

The bulk of the data in this research was collected through mixed qualitative methods. This included:

- Life histories of village women—summaries are also published separately (Setiawan et al. 2020).[8]
- Semi-structured interviews with interviewees in districts and villages, including CSO leaders and staff, CSO cadres, government representatives, legislators, village men and women, village group members, village leaders (state, customary, religious and other leaders), and other observers.
- Semi-structured interviews with national CSO partners and other observers.
- FGDs conducted separately with village men and women.
- Observations of community life and where possible village meetings, recorded in diaries and notes.
- Collecting village monographs and other village data on meetings and participation.

[8] See www.mampu.or.id

- Qualitatively developed social network maps of each village, identifying different types of social ties and relationships between prominent village actors. Essentially these maps sought to identify the nature and types of ties between actors seeking to influence village life and power structures.

In total, over 450 interviews (semi-structured and repeated life history interviews) and more than 30 focus group discussion were conducted (involving more than 150 people). For each research project site, researchers lived in villages observing community life and activities and also conducted interviews in districts with a range of different actors. Further details of these methods are outlined in Annex 4. The field work was conducted in several phases so as not to clash with the Indonesian legislative and presidential elections and national holiday periods:

- Phase 1: February-March 2019 (4 research project sites).
- Phase 2: July 2019 (6 research project sites).
- Phase 3: October-December 2019 (4 research project sites).

Analysis of the data entailed compiling multiple types of case studies for within case and comparative analysis. These processes were conducted iteratively, also involving MAMPU CSO Partners to provide inputs into the analysis through workshops and interactive webinars. Case studies include cases of district and village contexts, social networks, and of CSO structures, strategies and activities, including their support for women's groups. They also include life histories of women to understand trends in individual agency of women activists and change agents. **Most importantly, case studies were also developed that trace pathways** of how women were collectively able to influence the implementation of the Village Law, including analysis of the forms of collective action and influence exercised by village women, and the planned and unplanned strategies used by CSOs—at both district and village levels—in direct and indirect ways to support village women's collective action and as a part of CSO's own advocacy. The case studies of these pathways of influence (or 'Stories of Change') identify the mechanisms and processes of change that resulted in different outcomes under the Village Law, that being changes in:

1. Formal rules (such as Village Regulations, meeting processes and priorities).
2. Informal rules (such as village social norms and practices relating to gender roles, behaviours, representation in decision making and perceived responsibilities—the 4Rs).
3. New village development initiatives, programs, and use of the Village Fund.

The case studies tracing women's collective action and influence were comparatively analysed and are illustrated in this report. An edited volume of summaries of these case studies, including an overview (see Diprose et al., 2020), have also been published in full in Bahasa Indonesia. This edited volume also includes an overview and case study abstracts in English (see Savirani, Diprose, Hartoto, and Setiawan, 2020). A selection of women's life stories have also been published separately in Bahasa Indonesia and in English, with each containing an overview of common themes (see Setiawan, Beech Jones, Diprose, and Savirani, 2020).[9] Excerpts from these case studies and women's life stories are included throughout the comparative analysis in the following sections of this report.

[9] See www.mampu.or.id and www.demisetara.org.

Quantitative methods

The MAMPU Monitoring and Evaluation team collected detailed data on Partner activities, village (and district, provincial, and national) context dynamics as well as program and policy developments, women's groups and other groups and their membership, and on many other themes. The analysis has also drawn from some of the quantitative data from MAMPU's database to indicate where trends emerging from the qualitative findings from this research might be occurring at scale. This includes:

- Core challenges to building women's empowerment reported by all MAMPU CSO Partners in 27 provinces, 147 districts/municipalities and 1,137 villages between July 2014 - October 2019.
- Legislation, regulations, and other policy instruments developed in 27 provinces, 147 districts/municipalities and 1,137 villages between July 2014-October 2019, related to women's empowerment and wellbeing.

Ethics

The research team ensured that ethics considerations were built into the study design and fieldwork. All research team members were female so as to ensure interviewees and CSO partners were comfortable with the study. The research team was made up of female researchers from the School of Social and Political Sciences at The University of Melbourne (one chief investigator leading the research, two associate researchers, and two research assistants) and the Politics and Governance Department (PolGov) at Universitas Gadjah Mada (the University of Gadjah Mada) (one team leader, and 14 field researchers and one research assistant). The team was structured to involve researchers who are skilled in qualitative research about community development across multiple contexts and languages.

All field researchers were trained in ethical research practice and were supervised by senior staff. Access to the villages was facilitated through MAMPU's CSO Partners, and other trusted local contacts, who supported the researchers in establishing connections with local communities and potential participants. The researchers also sought the appropriate permission of village and other relevant authorities before conducting this research. Interviews were conducted in private homes or in busy public spaces (as was the preference of interviewees) to mitigate the risk of interviewees being overheard.

In general, verbal informed consent was sought as the most culturally appropriate form of consent in Indonesian villages. Where it was appropriate, a written informed consent was used, for example, with representatives of CSOs or government bodies. Interviews were only conducted with people aged over 18 years and child protection guidelines were followed. In conducting the research, the team endeavoured to always maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of all informants. This report uses pseudonyms (or positions) to disguise the identity of interviewees and only refers to study locations by district.

Scope

As mentioned in the introduction, many of MAMPU's partner organisations working in rural areas endeavour to access and support some of the most vulnerable women in Indonesia, such as female-headed families, survivors of domestic and other forms of gender-based violence, or homeworkers with precarious livelihoods and often below-subsistence incomes, among others. Thus, in collaborating with such organisations for the research, **the study has tended to capture in ethnographic detail the voices and experiences of more vulnerable rural village women, women who have often experienced multiple-dimensions of poverty.** The

study also—but to a lesser extent—captures the experiences of other women in the rural research sites who may still experience significant challenges but do not (or no longer) have the same heightened degree of vulnerability—an aspect that may narrow pathways for action.

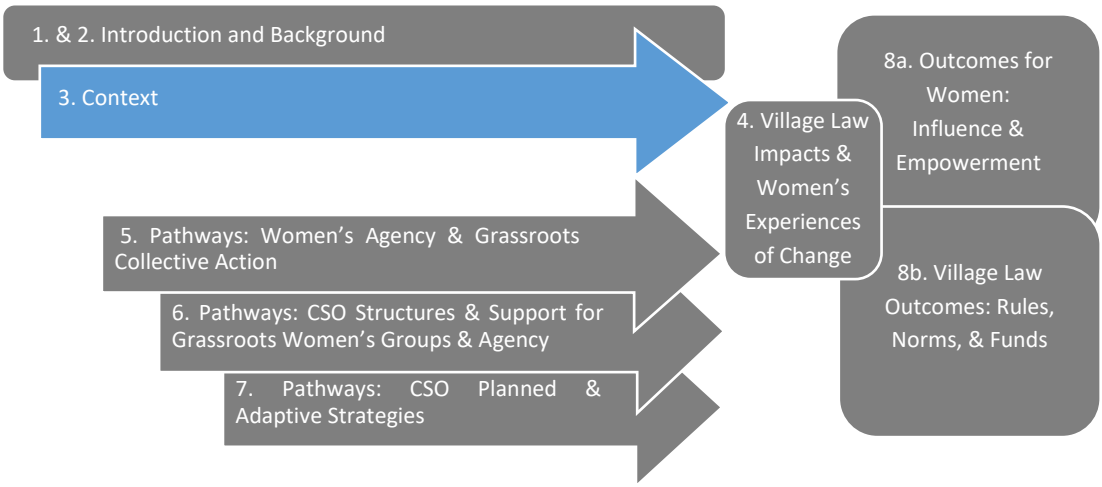
Thus, there may be further pathways for collective action (with and without external support) in other places and for other people than are captured here. The findings, nonetheless, are helpful for other agencies, programs, and facilitator networks, among others that seek to bolster gender inclusion, in understanding many of the pathways and mechanisms by which rural village women might undertake collective action (both together and with other actors) to access and exercise influence over the structures of power and decision making.

3.

DIMENSIONS OF CONTEXT:

CONSTRAINING AND ENABLING WOMEN'S INFLUENCE

3. Dimensions of Context: Constraining and Enabling Women's Influence


1. & 2. Introduction and Background
3. Context
4. Village Law Impacts & Women's Experiences of Change
8a. Outcomes for Women: Influence & Empowerment
8b. Village Law Outcomes: Rules, Norms, & Funds
5. Pathways: Women's Agency & Grassroots Collective Action
6. Pathways: CSO Structures & Support for Grassroots Women's Groups & Agency
7. Pathways: CSO Planned & Adaptive Strategies

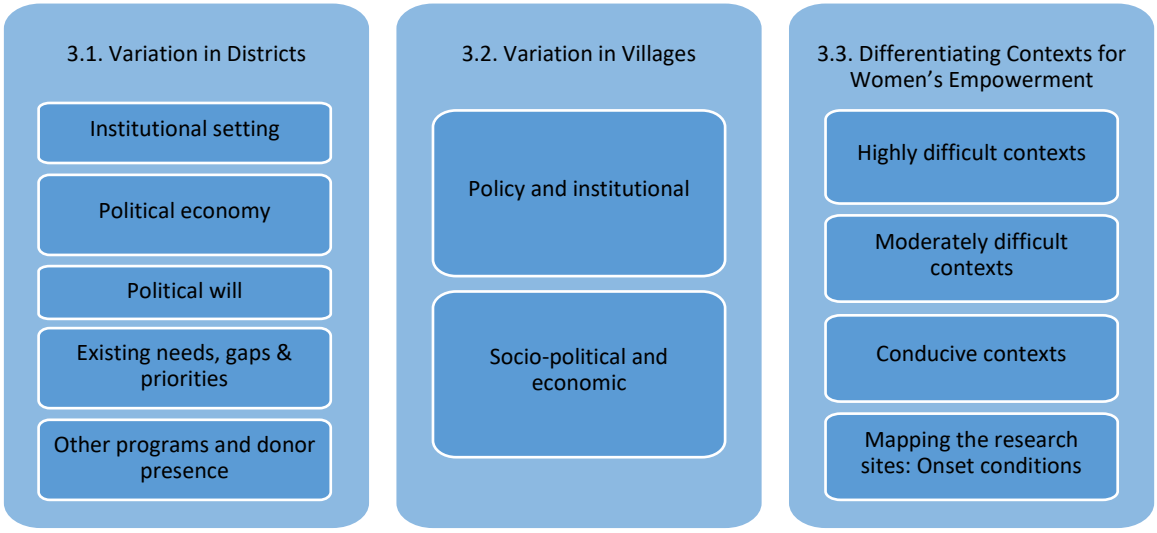
Each of Indonesia's provinces, districts and villages display a significant degree of diversity in terms of their social, politico-economic and institutional contexts. This has implications for how decisions are made, priorities are set, and needs are determined, how programs are funded, how socio-cultural norms evolve and are expressed, how power and voice is exercised, and ultimately people's perceptions and experiences. This section discusses the ways these different aspects of context, together, create an environment that enables or constrains women's influence, women's collective action, and civil society efforts to support gender inclusiveness so as to improve women's social, political and economic well-being. Figure 5 outlines the content of Section 3.

Context dynamics inform women's choices, collective action pathways, and the (varied) approaches that CSOs take to support village women and to try and effect change in the policy environment, either by design or in reaction to each district's politico-economic and social realities. Context dynamics also affect the nature of (and variation in) the on-the-ground initiatives developed by women, villages, government, supporting CSOs or a collaboration of all three, to strengthen the capacity, resources, and forms of influence that women exercise to meet their needs. Finally, context dynamics also affect the challenges women face and the forms and targets of women's grassroots collective action. This then has implications for the degree to which women can influence village governance, including the implementation of the Village Law, so as to contribute to their efforts to improve their wellbeing.

It was clear from the research that both the district and village contexts and the interaction between them affect the opportunities and constraints for gender inclusiveness and the ways that women might individually and collectively influence the Village Law's implementation. Below, we review the key features of district and village contexts that shape variation in the enabling environment for women's influence and gender inclusiveness. We also identify the opportunities and challenges this creates for women's collective action and the grassroots support provided by CSOs to bolster empowerment. We use this discussion to draw together a framework for understanding variation in contexts so as to be able to later analyse:

- How women individually and collectively seek to exercise voice and influence the implementation of the Village Law in these different contexts,
- The approaches that CSOs take to support village women in different contexts, and
- The strategies that CSOs deploy to navigate these contexts to greater or lesser degrees in planned and unplanned ways.

Figure 5: Structure and Key Content of Section 3



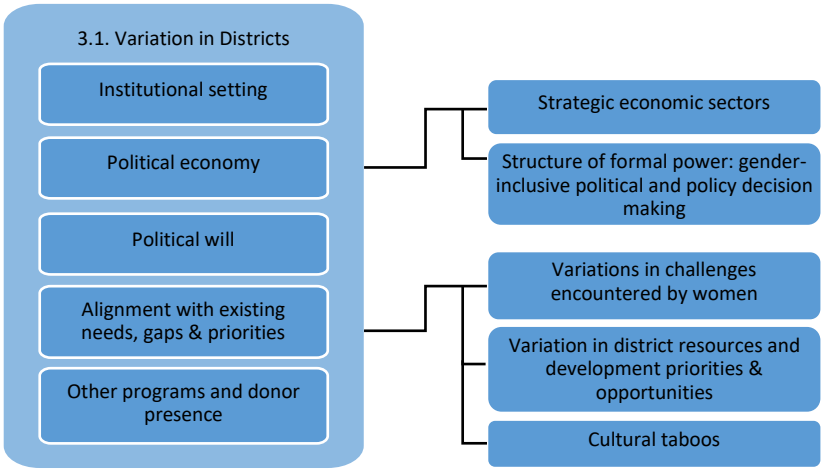
3.1 Variation in district contexts

Each district has different topography, available infrastructure, geography, population densities and spread, and levels of education and health. Each of these factors affect access to population centres and access to, demand for, and the provision of public services. Each region too has different salient identity groupings (e.g. cultural, customary, religious, ethnic), social institutions with significant moral authority and influence (such as mosques, churches and customary and tradition organisations), and social organisations that structure social life and social activities. The institutional environment—including the policies, programs and services provided by government and other organisations, and how government institutions are structured and funded to support on-the-ground initiatives, and how other organisations influence government—also has implications for women's involvement in decision making and initiatives to promote inclusion that are supported and implemented by government, CSOs and other organisations.

Below we discuss key features of district contexts that shape the enabling and constraining conditions for the ways women exercise voice and influence (key analysis themes are outlined in Figure 6). This includes:

- The key features of the institutional environment that signal more or less conducive enabling conditions for women's influence and empowerment, as well as how these change over time.
- The ways the political economy may constrain gender inclusion.
- Existing political will of district leaders support gender inclusion.
- The degree of alignment between the existing development needs, gaps, priorities and political interests, and the key concerns of village women and CSOs, which can constrain or enhance gender inclusion agendas.
- Considerations for regions with multiple donor-funded programs.

Figure 6: Key Features of District contexts—Shaping Constraints and Opportunities for Women's Influence on Structures of Power and Decision Making


3.1. Variation in Districts
Institutional setting
Political economy
Political will
Alignment with existing needs, gaps & priorities
Other programs and donor presence
Strategic economic sectors
Structure of formal power: gender-inclusive political and policy decision making
Variations in challenges encountered by women
Variation in district resources and development priorities & opportunities
Cultural taboos

Institutional environment: Degree of existing government and other support for gender inclusion

The institutional environments in districts vary in terms of their legislative, regulatory and policy frameworks and programs, functional capacity and resources (budgets, staff and skills) to deliver these programs, and opportunities to create revenues from taxes and levies on economic activities (known as *Pendapatan Asli Daerah* - PAD) to further fund these programs. Districts also vary in terms of their length of establishment—in some places, new districts have been carved out from larger jurisdictions under decentralisation and have more recently created their offices of government and policy frameworks. In each region too, there are scarcer or more abundant resources for livelihoods, wealth creation and business opportunities. These in turn have implications for employment and livelihood options in communities, as well as for PAD and other budget revenues that fund development initiatives in communities.

When MAMPU began its program, in some regions there was fertile ground for women's collective action and new or scaled up CSO initiatives to take hold. Analysis found that when there were already some efforts to accommodate women's self-determined priorities in district development, women's influence on policy and rural development through collective action was likely to more quickly take hold and have significant impacts further down the track. Such efforts were also helped by emerging governance arrangements in districts (and provinces) that had already begun to support gender-inclusive decision making. This is because in these regions, there were already some opportunities for women to exercise their voices and for civil society organisations—and the smaller women's groups they support—to advocate for the rights, needs and empowerment of women. This tended to be the case in places where regulations, policies and programs were already beginning to prioritise the needs of women. Indicators of emerging gender inclusiveness were (among others):

- District and provincial regulations (Perda, Peraturan Daerah) or Governor/District Head decisions that enacted policies concerned with women's empowerment, women's self-determined priorities, and/or gender representation in decision-making forums,
- Functioning and funded/staffed agencies and programs focused on women's priorities and concerns, and/or
- Growing representation of women in district power structures such as the regional parliaments and in other leadership positions.

While many of the districts did not have fully developed institutional frameworks for ensuring women were included in decision-making forums, it was clear that in those places where women's rights and priorities were already or beginning to be recognised by government and other stakeholders, there was already a conducive environment for (increasing) women's influence on decision making and upscaling gender inclusion and empowerment programs to varying degrees. The institutional features of the districts ultimately had some influence on the implementation of the Village Law within these districts and helped reduce the barriers to women's empowerment at the village level.

For example, in Lampung Province, in the first decade of Indonesia's reform era, advocacy work for improving the position of women gained momentum through the work of the DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute (Lembaga Advokasi Perempuan DAMAR) and its network of partner organisations in the Lampung districts, which preceded the support provided by MAMPU for DAMAR and its partners. Between 2000-2010, DAMAR recorded 2326 cases of violence against women from local media reporting (DAMAR, 2019). Given the high rate of such violence in Lampung Province, DAMAR initially focused its advocacy on preventing violence against women. Their early advocacy resulted in the formation of an Integrated Service Unit for victims with the support of government, the local hospital and other institutions. Several provincial government regulations were enacted by government to support the Unit (see Box 5). The charismatic Chair of DAMAR later became the Chair of the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) from 2013-2014, and a member of Komnas HAM from 2012-2017. This helped provide strong links between DAMAR and other members of the consortium of women's organisations in Sumatra of which it was one of the founding members—PERMAMPU—and national advocacy organisations and policy makers.

Box 5: The DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute

Following a phase of strategic planning, ELSAPA (Lembaga Studi Advokasi Perempuan dan Anak—Institute for Study and Advocacy for Women and Children) in Lampung re-structured to form the DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute with a network of partner organisations in the districts in Lampung Province. It was also a founding member of the wider consortium of women's organisations in Sumatra called PERMAMPU in 2012. In its initial 10-year strategic plan, DAMAR focused on broader advocacy for women but also specifically on protecting victims of violence, especially domestic violence, and advocating for the prevention of violence against women. It established an MOU with the Lampung Provincial Government, the police, military and civil courts, and the regional hospital in 2002 to form an Integrated Service Unit (Unit Pelayanan Terpadu - UPT) located in the hospital to provide free services to women who were victims of violence. It also was able to sufficiently influence policy makers to establish several Provincial Regulations—such as No. 6/2006 on Services for Women and Child Victims of Domestic Violence, and No. 4/2006 on the Prevention of Trafficking of Women and Children. It not only works to help protect women and child victims of domestic violence, but also undertakes research and monitoring work.

Between 2000-2010, DAMAR was able to support 563 women both in litigation and through other services. While also monitoring trends, DAMAR extended its program to include helping women access sexual and reproductive services, counselling for male perpetrators of domestic violence, and more broadly on supporting the recognition and fulfilment of women's rights, raising gender awareness among both men and women, and tackling gender-based violence.

In 2010, DAMAR extended its strategic plan to focus on championing women's rights (including health, education, and legal rights) and the representation of women in politics (Interview, DAMAR leader, 18 July 2019). While continuing its advocacy on the prevention of violence against women, it extended its focus for a number of reasons: high maternal mortality rates, limited access to health services, limited knowledge among women of their own bodies and reproductive health, and the low representation of women in leadership and influential policy and decision-making forums.

As is clear from Box 5, Lampung CSOs had long lobbied the provincial government and worked with provincial and district decision makers to improve attention to women's needs and issues in the region. Over time, they were able to institutionalise some of their initiatives, building on earlier groundwork and the networks established throughout districts. This meant that when MAMPU provided support to DAMAR to scale up its work in 2013, there were already indicators of a supportive institutional environment in the region and it was not commencing from scratch. In other cases, the institutional environment and nature of influential actors in a particular sector also had some bearing on the operational environment of a MAMPU-supported partner at the onset. For example, in North Sumatra, the long history of an active labour movement and advocacy, albeit not explicitly focused on strengthening policy attention to gender issues across the board, provided fertile ground for building support for minimum wage advocacy in the informal sector and to improve the work conditions of homeworkers.

In other cases, institutional support and political openness to establishing more gender-inclusive institutional settings and policies grew alongside, often interacting with, the MAMPU Partner initiatives. This certainly occurred in the Pangkajene and Islands (Pangkep) District, in which leaders in the District Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) were undertaking a number of steps to strengthen gender-inclusiveness in district agencies, policies and programs.

If we compare the situation in Tanggamus District in Lampung, with that in Bangkalan District in East Java Province, the situation is very different. Prior to MAMPU Partner PEKKA (Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga—the Female-Headed Families Empowerment Foundation) beginning its advocacy and grassroots support for women in the region, there were few women's groups outside of religious institutions or active CSOs. There were also no government regulations concerned with gender inclusion or women's empowerment and child protection, no integrated services for supporting victims of domestic violence, and certainly no champions for empowerment associated with Komnas HAM. As is outlined in Box 6, poverty levels are at 21% for Bangkalan, compared with 13.5% in Tanggamus District (BPS Tanggamus, 2019). It is within this environment that PEKKA sought to support women through what are known as Pekka groups and unions (community-based village women's groups that are distinct from the PEKKA Foundation and program itself), which are explored later in this report.

Box 6: Bangkalan District

Bangkalan District is located on Madura island off the north-east coast of Java. The population is 98% Muslim and predominantly made up of Madurese people (BPS Kabupaten Bangkalan, 2019). Most of the population have strong Islamic values and follow Madurese traditional norms, in which men tend to occupy leadership roles and dominate public life. Political structures are intertwined with the strong network of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in the region— there are some 220 *pesantren* across the district alone.

Interviewees detailed how local leadership positions in the executive and legislature are secured through having strong religious knowledge and religious institutional ties, rather than secured through strong ties with political parties, although to run candidates must have party support. Every district head in the region during the past two decades has been a male descendent from Syaikhona Kholil (1820-1925)—a charismatic leader who spread Islam to the region and educated the founder of Indonesia's largest mass organisation Nahdlatul Ulama—indicating both familial and religious networks shape social and political structures. In the district legislature for 2014-2019, there were only two women among 50 members and both were temporary members of the Gerindra party.

People from Bangkalan tend to prioritise sending children to *pesantren*, rather than state schools due to strong religious and traditional norms. In the Long-Term Bangkalan District Development Plan from (2005–2025), the regional government emphasises education through *pesantren* and *madrasah* (institutions of Islamic instruction) that tend to be

administered individually and by foundations, rather than state schools (Kabupaten Bangkalan Government, 2019). There are very few CSOs in the district beyond religious institutions and foundations with religious affiliations. Most livelihoods are dependent on agriculture or small businesses. People live in small clusters of houses near their fields that they cultivate and tend to have close familial relationships.

Some 21.3% of the people also live below the poverty line (BPS Kabupaten Bangkalan, 2019). Prior to PEKKA undertaking advocacy in the district with MAMPU support, there were no distinct regulations focused on gender inclusion, women's empowerment or protection. The district government did have some programs related to women in rural areas, primarily giving a small amount of support to the long-established state corporatist organisation, the Family Welfare and Empowerment organisation (PKK—See Section 5), and a small degree of support to village maternal and child health groups (Posyandu), similar to the support found in many districts. The wife of the District Head was given the authority to develop programs associated with these organisations with minimal budget allocations. The government office responsible for the protection of women and children is allocated less than one percent of the district budget.

Ultimately, in regions where the institutional environment was more conducive to supporting gender inclusion in decision making and women's empowerment initiatives (either at the onset, or through changes over time that largely resulted from advocacy efforts), there was a greater likelihood that women were able to collectively act to influence the policy environment and implementation of the Village Law. Key indicators of what this research identified and frames as conduciveness included:

- Developing and implementing gender inclusion regulations,
- Clearly designated programs for gender inclusion and women's empowerment with appropriate budgets,
- Efforts to include women in decision making (see further discussion below), and in policy and program design processes,
- Providing spaces for women to voice their needs in forums of influence, and
- Giving attention to women's self-identified needs in policy priorities.

In other words, key indicators included both 'processes', such as women's participation in decision making, and enabling frameworks such as policies that may shape inclusive outcomes for women or support women's empowerment initiatives. It is important to note that the depth of women's influence reflected the extent to which women self-identified their needs through participating in decision-making forums and were able to voice these needs and exercise influence on policy and program design and implementation. In some cases, women were more the passive recipients of policies that others determined had 'met' their needs. For example, in some places, there was a tendency to label attention to health or children in policies and budget allocations as having 'met' women's needs, even when this was not as a result of including women in processes where they could determine priorities for women.

Political economy: Restricting women's influence and gender inclusion

A key constraint in districts for women's collective action and advocacy efforts is the degree to which increasing women's influence and gender inclusiveness threatens existing power structures in the broader district political economy, including economic interests and how political or policy decisions are made. In such situations, it is more difficult for women's collective action and/or supporting CSO advocacy efforts to have influence—where there is resistance to these advocacy efforts or progress is slower, special strategies are required to overcome these constraints (see Section 7).

Strategic economic sectors

For example, in Central Lombok District (see Box 7), many powerful business people and state actors have an interest in sending migrant workers overseas with few restraints on this practice. Migrant worker remittances bolster the economy and provide revenue streams to businesses that facilitate placements for migrant workers overseas, both legally and illicitly. There are strong ties between influential state and economic actors in the migrant work sector, which has implications for policy and political decisions. It is thus difficult to challenge established agendas, policy and practices so as to support women and improve migrant worker protection.

Box 7: The Political Economy of Migrant Worker Remittances in Central Lombok

In Central Lombok District in West Nusa Tenggara Province (Nusa Tenggara Barat—NTB) in the eastern part of Indonesia, the highest level of education achieved by the majority of people aged 7-24 years is primary school (BPS Kabupaten Lombok, 2019). 85% of the population gain limited incomes from livelihoods from the agricultural and plantation sectors (BPS Kabupaten Lombok, 2019), with few other opportunities available until more recently. The tourism industry is growing, particularly since the new international airport was built in the district, and the 'Special Economic Zone' was declared in 2017. This has increased district revenues from taxes and levies in the tourism sector six-fold in the last two years (District government interviewees, 4 July 2019).

With low education levels, poor wages in the plantation and agricultural sectors, and opportunities in tourism and the Special Economic Zone only recently beginning to take effect, Central Lombok residents have sought work and supplementary income elsewhere, particularly as overseas migrant workers. Men tend to work in the formal sector as contract labourers, mostly in Malaysia. Female migrant workers tend to work in the informal sector as domestic workers in places such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia, but also in places in the Middle East, such as Saudi Arabia—although the Indonesian government has introduced a moratorium on sending migrant workers to Saudi Arabia (unless very strict formal, large-scale, contract conditions are met) given various violations in the past. Some, nonetheless, either travelled before the moratorium was in place or have been placed there through illicit channels.

In NTB, Central Lombok District has the second largest number of migrant workers that undertake temporary employment overseas after East Lombok. Central Lombok is also the eighth largest source of migrant workers in all of Indonesia after the top sending districts: Indramayu, Cirebon, East Lombok, Cilacap, Ponorogo, Blitar, and Malang.

Given the high number of migrant workers in the region, migrant work generates significant remittances that bolster the district economy and migrant worker welfare is a key issue of public interest. However, interviewees explained that some district office heads and local legislature members were resistant to introducing regulations to protect migrant workers because such regulations would constrain efforts to send migrant workers abroad. Many state actors are closely tied to large companies that send migrant workers overseas.

There was significant variation across the district research sites in terms of economic interests and coalitions of actors that have power and control decision making, which affects women's roles and opportunities to ultimately gain political positions. Similar to Central Lombok, in Pangkep District, South Sulawesi Province, according to interviewees, coalitions of elite politico-economic actors have a strong grip on both the fishing industry, other industries and on politics. Interviewees explained that the introduction of any initiatives that might threaten these interests would be met with strong resistance—we certainly see this at the village level in later analysis of Pangkep dynamics, however, over time, the Pangkep district government grew to be fairly supportive of the initiatives to increase women's voice and influence in decision making (see Section 7).

In some districts, there is an overlap between political, economic and social power, with long-established practices of actors from the same networks (and sometimes families and social institutions) making political decisions and policies. For example, in Bangkalan (See Box 6), decisions have long been made by a narrow set

of leaders from a small set of political parties and aligned Muslim clerics from *pesantren*. There are few women in the district parliament, appointed as heads of sectoral agencies, or who occupy other influential positions. When women do hold such office in the research sites for this study, they tend to be the wives and daughters of political figures from powerful families and networks. These kinds of dynamics in both districts and villages can constrain efforts to improve gender inclusion in decision-making structures, and are particularly acute when they are pervasive at both levels.

Structures of formal power—gender inclusive political representation and policy decision making

The configuration of formal political power in districts and villages varies significantly across the archipelago. Political parties and the executive leadership (the District Head, the Deputy District Head, and the heads of government agencies/departments), shape politics and policies when in office and have the potential to constrain or enable opportunities and outcomes for women. This includes the representation of and opportunities for women in political structures, leadership and other positions in public office, the priorities for and nature of policies and programs, and the degree of resourcing for (and access to) state sponsored on-the-ground initiatives.

Overall, there was significant variation across the qualitative research districts in terms of women's representation in formal, state based decision-making structures, both at the onset of the MAMPU program and over time. If we return to the comparison between Tanggamus District and Bangkalan District, among the members of the district parliaments (in office to 2018), Tanggamus had nine female members of parliament, while Bangkalan had two. Tanggamus recently saw the election of a female District Head in 2018 (albeit the wife of the former District Head) who introduced a series of programs popular in local communities. Meanwhile, all the District Heads in Bangkalan during the past two decades were male descendants from a well-known religious leader who brought Islam to the region and was the teacher of the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama (see Box 6). Advocacy work to improve women's representation in district government and parties has been slow in this region. Political representation of women in parliament has been similarly slow in Central Lombok, where only four of 50 parliamentarians are women. To a degree, the achievements made in the migrant workers sector are because both genders benefit.

These findings resonate with that from recent research on female parliamentarians and gender quotas by Pratiwi (2019) and others (see Box 8), which highlight that the barriers to entry in politics are particularly acute for women. Those that make it through tend to be from wealthier backgrounds or have ties to families already in politics, or what are known as political dynasties. While confirming these findings on the benefits for female candidates from ties to powerful dynasties, other work from Aspinall et al. (2021, forthcoming) on the 2019 elections and female candidates highlights that there are a growing number of exceptions on women in subnational regions making it into politics when, for example, female candidates persevere over successive electoral cycles and become well known, when they draw on associational networks such as those of NU, Muhammadiyah and CSOs for support, and when they run campaigns on women's issues.

Box 8: Gender and Election Candidates

While the gender quota of 30% for political party nominations of candidates for elections (mandated in Law No. 31/2002 and Law No. 12/2003) has fast-tracked women's representation in Indonesian politics—the effects of which were particularly evident in the 2019 elections—a number of studies have shown that women's political presence is still constrained. This is due to high costs of running for office, the patriarchal nature of political parties, and a lack of political will to promote women's political participation (Bessel, 2010; Pratiwi, 2019; Prihatini, 2019b). Pratiwi (2019) highlights that the expense involved in running for office has led to political domination by economic elites and those

from political dynasties (see also Aspinall et al. 2021). Such 'money politics' has tended to constrain women candidates with strong track records in the women's movement (Pratiwi, 2019). A study by Prihatini (2019b) indicates that the open-list proportional representation electoral system has been associated with higher uncertainty and higher campaign costs, creating practical barriers for women to be successfully elected. Such political institutional aspects tend to only benefit those with strong economic resources.

While women's participation has moved tentatively but progressively towards meeting gender quotas, the above research suggests that issues of regional equality, as well as quality, remain. Prihatini (2019a) analysed the demographic profiles of candidates and elected MPs. Her findings suggest that having experience in political office, age, and higher list position on the ballot sheets are strongly associated with women winning office. Moreover, a majority of elected female lawmakers represent higher socioeconomic classes and often have kinship ties to political dynasties. For example, almost half of the elected women in the 2014 elections were related to political dynasties, in which women tended to be married to or were a blood relation of male political leaders (Prihatini, 2019a).

What is clear is that by 2013 when MAMPU began to establish its program, more than a decade after Indonesia overhauled its political system and institutions, there was significant variation across the districts in the institutional and political environment for supporting gender inclusion in the structures of political decision making. Some institutional and political environments were more conducive to building empowerment agendas than others.

Political will and support from district leadership: Opportunities to advance gender inclusion

The difficulty of the work to strengthen women's influence in districts was also contingent on the degree to which there was political will among district decision makers—be it the executive, the legislature, political party leaders, or public figures outside of government—to take up the gender inclusion and women's empowerment agenda. This is interrelated with the conduciveness of the institutional environment discussed above, but is more concerned with the nature of leaders driving the policy agenda, determining policy and funding priorities, and contributing to and influencing public discourse. Key figures who have considerable political influence in districts include (but are not limited to):

- The District Head (Bupati)/Mayor (Wali Kota) and his/her Deputy, who, as the head of the bureaucracy, can issue regulations and decisions and determine budget priorities.
- The Speaker of the District Legislature (DPRD), or the leader of the dominant political party in the district, who can push legislation supportive of gender inclusion and women's empowerment through the house.
- The heads of powerful government sectoral agencies that can also issue regulations and decisions, have significant budget control or influence over other sectoral agencies such as the District Development Planning Agency (Bappeda), or the wealthy sectoral agencies (depending on the resource endowments in each district).
- Influential leaders of social institutions—religious, customary, ethnic, or other large organisations with many members—who either help shape local discourse and social norms or are sufficiently able to lobby state actors to development gender-sensitive policies.

In those regions were there were indicators of some existing political will to support gender inclusion and the empowerment agenda, the district context was more conducive to women's collective action and CSO efforts to influence the political and policy context. This also had implications for the forms and targets of women's grassroots collective action (see Section 5) and the kinds of strategies and advocacy efforts that MAMPU Partners undertook to advocate for new policies and regulations to improve women's voice and influence in decision making processes (see Section 7).

For example, in Central Lombok, CSOs had long advocated for policy attention to women's needs, in particular those of migrant workers at risk of exploitation. This includes the Panca Karsa Association, which had worked to influence the district government to bolster migrant worker protection for more than a decade before it partnered with Migrant CARE and MAMPU to develop a more comprehensive program on gender inclusion and supporting village women. At the onset of Migrant CARE/Panca Karsa's new MAMPU-supported program, there was some existing political will among the District Head, select parliamentarians and other leaders to develop new policies, programs and initiatives to address some of the difficulties encountered by migrant workers, although this had not culminated in clear, wide-reaching policies and programs. Such political will was partly due to public interest in the issue and national and local media coverage of female migrant workers who had died in destination countries (see also further discussion in Section 7 on champions and popular public interest issues). Compared to some districts in the study, these leaders were open to collaborating with stakeholders concerned with addressing migrant worker needs, which includes providing economic opportunities for returned migrant workers.

Box 9: Political Will to Change Policies in Central Lombok

The Central Lombok District Head, his Deputy, the First Assistant District Secretary and the several Heads of the District Offices as well as some members of the district legislature, together with CSOs in the district concerned with migrant worker protections, advocated to push through a District Government Regulation on Migrant Worker Protection in 2017. One interviewee in Central Lombok described how:

"We were relieved when the First Assistant Secretary gave his support [for protecting migrant workers]. Why did he support the agenda? Because he had real experiences which he had witnessed himself. He has an adopted child whose mother was a migrant worker [that disappeared]. From the time his adopted child was born, to now when he is a teenager, his child has had no idea where his birth mother is. It's a really emotional issue for the First Assistant Secretary because this happened in front of his eyes. So he considered this issue as truly important and conveyed as much when he summoned the Head of the Office [that should have introduced the regulation]—he didn't want what happened to his adopted child to happen again to other children."

Between 1 January 2017 - 30 June 2019, 17,198 Central Lombok migrant workers completed their registration (of which 9.6% were women) and the registration for 7,143 was in process (of which 13.43% were women) (National Migrant Worker Placement and Protection Agency, 2019).

Champions that might support gender inclusion and at least a degree of existing political will made for a more conducive district context for gender inclusion. This was important for overcoming constraints in the political economy of the district institutional and political environment (see Section 7). Across the research districts, there were several empirical indicators of political will among the district leadership to support gender inclusion and the broader women's empowerment agenda. This included indicators that leaders were either already taking the following actions, or had begun to take these actions, often but not always as a result of advocacy from other stakeholders, particularly social institutions and CSOs (discussed further in Section 7):

- Drawing attention to issues deemed priorities for women in political campaigns,
- Establishing forums, such as working groups, to identify policies and programs to tackle challenges faced by women,
- Demonstrating willingness to collaborate with other stakeholders concerned with gender inclusion and women's empowerment,
- Endorsing or advocating for new policies and regulations relevant for gender inclusion,
- Encouraging public discussions on issues affecting women, even when they touch on taboos such as domestic violence or reproductive health,

- Appointing women or champions of the empowerment agenda to influential positions in parties, government offices or other leadership positions,
- Introducing or endorsing decision making mechanisms which ensure women are included in agenda setting and decision-making forums, and
- Allocating budget to policies and programs which women determine as priorities.

Important in these indicators was that policies and frameworks were translated into real and demonstrated commitments from the political leadership, rather than nominal on-paper frameworks that were not translated into action.

Existing needs, gaps and priorities for women: Degree of alignment with political and policy priorities

Every district in the qualitative research sample faced different pressures on resources. They had different economic environments, geography, population size, degree of vulnerability to disaster, level of health and education and level of poverty. They also had different existing policy priorities, different popular interest issues, different challenges faced by women, and different broad social norms and cultural taboos, each of which made for a more conducive or challenging environment for gender inclusion, the potential influence of collective action and for the challenges of new women's empowerment initiatives.

Variation in challenges encountered by women

In addition to broad challenges of reducing poverty, which was more acute in some regions and among female-headed families, the research confirmed that the CSO/MAMPU Partnership priority issues were indeed key challenges in the research areas. Often women encountered additional challenges in each research area too, which compounded poverty and multiple dimensions of vulnerability. Box 10 provides just a few illustrative examples of the variation in the concerns for women in the research sites, as well as those issues that were more pervasive across research areas in addition to broader higher poverty levels among the women who participated in the research and especially for female-headed families.

Sometimes these focus areas were aligned with the political and policy priorities of decision-makers in districts which again made for a conducive environment for building gender inclusiveness and women's empowerment and implementing programs. In others, special strategies were required to navigate the political environment through grassroots collective action (Section 5) and CSO support for women and advocacy (see Sections 6 and 7), to overcome resistance to, and garner support for increasing women's voice and influence.

Box 10: District Variation in the Needs and Challenges Encountered by Women

Migrant worker protection: In regions such the Central Lombok and East Lombok Districts in West Nusa Tenggara, as well as places such as the North Hulu Sungai District in Kalimantan where migrant workers were located, some of the poorest men and women in these villages were vulnerable to recruitment by middle-men. These middle-men tend use illicit channels to facilitate migrant worker departures overseas, and organise contracts that pay lower wages than might otherwise be the case for migrant workers departing via formal channels. Migrant workers departing via illicit channels lack the stronger protections provided by formal registration, both in terms of wage levels and the option of seeking government support if anything goes wrong while they are overseas.

Livelihoods opportunities: This was a challenge for women in more remote regions where there were few natural resource endowments that might create livelihood options. This was the case in the North Hulu Sungai District in Kalimantan, Pangkep District in Sulawesi, TTU District in NTT Province, and in earthquake-affected North Lombok

District[10], among others. In these places many people, in particular women, have sought to etch out a living from very small-scale agriculture or as farm labourers.

Legibility: Citizen legibility—obtained through possessing appropriate birth and marriage certificates, family cards, identity cards and other documents recognised by the state—is necessary to be able to access government support, as well as for many other functions in Indonesian society. Accessing such documents was an obstacle for many villagers, particularly the poorest of the poor. Women in particular tended to lack knowledge of government administrative processes, or the resources/geographic proximity needed to access the documentation services. Village residents face great difficulties in accessing government programs, services and targeted social protection programs without such documents. This affected both genders, but was a particular problem for female-headed families generally, and especially in many of the poorer and more isolated research areas such as the Bangkalan District in East Java, and in the North Hulu Sungai District in Kalimantan. Female headed families are much more likely to live below the poverty line and encounter other dimensions of poverty such as low education, poor health outcomes, limited livelihoods options, unemployment and risks of exploitation such as trafficking.

Violence against women: This was a problem in many districts in the study, although not always a focus of the research. It was a key problem in the research sites in the Labuhan Batu District and Lampung Province in Sumatra, in TTU District in NTT, and East Lombok District in NTB.

Child marriage prevention: Child marriage as a means of responding to poverty by sharing the burden of dependents, intertwined with social norms that render these early marriages acceptable, was a particular challenge identified in the Bangkalan District in East Java (see Box 14), and in Central and East Lombok in NTB.

Reproductive health and health knowledge: In many regions, there was limited knowledge of women's reproductive health, including issues such as understanding of the importance of early identification of cancer risks (through cervical cancer screening), sexual health, and many other health issues. The burden for family health tends to fall on women who are often primary care givers for children and the elderly. Improving such knowledge is a challenge in regions where sharing knowledge on sexual and reproductive health encounters strong cultural taboos.

Social protection, in particular accessing health, education and poverty reduction services and programs: Accessing health, education and other social protection services tended to be a particular challenge in more remote areas such as in North Hulu Sungai District in Kalimantan, parts of the Pangkep District (particularly in the small islands off shore), but also in the poorer areas of East Java, such as both Bangkalan and Gresik Districts, and on Lombok island such as in East Lombok and in parts of NTT.

Gender awareness and gender-sensitive decision making: Most regions in the study encountered challenges in gender awareness of rights and responsibilities, and ensuring women were represented in decision-making forums and priority settings, which in turn underpinned many of the other issues mentioned above.

Variation in district resources and development priorities and opportunities: Agenda alignment

When women's interests and needs were aligned with district government development priorities (and gaps identified) or popular interest issues of some concern to decision-makers (but often without appropriate mechanisms to tackle such challenges), this made for a more conducive environment for women's collective action and advocacy to have influence on policies and programs.

For example, migrant worker issues in Central Lombok have long been well covered in the media. Media reports have detailed the risks, abuses, and exploitation encountered by some migrant workers, both in Lombok and in Indonesia more widely. Such challenges tend to have been experienced by migrant workers

[10] While deep fieldwork was not conducted in this area, it was a key issue affecting much of the island and brief field visits to North Lombok were made.

recruited by middle-men who organise workers' overseas employment, administrative documentation, travel, and often wage levels and payments, some of which is not in accordance with the appropriate processes. On the promise of a better standard of living and lucrative benefits, such migrant workers have experienced their passports being withheld by employers, underpayment or withheld wages, other illicit payments to middle-men, and, among other issues, domestic violence and sexual abuse in the households or other workplaces.

Given this media coverage and the challenges experienced by migrant workers, this issue already had the attention of policy makers at the onset of Migrant CARE and Panca Karsa's MAMPU-supported initiatives in the region (see Section 3), even if they had not yet introduced systems to address these risks. Public concern about protections for migrant workers provided entry points for migrant worker protection initiatives introduced by Migrant CARE/Panca Karsa. While it was nonetheless challenging to influence policy (see Section 7), this did bolster political will to support efforts to improve migrant worker protections.

When the challenges encountered by women were less aligned with these issues of public concern or government priorities, when women's priorities created significant new pressure on budgets, or when key women's issues traversed cultural taboos (discussed further in the Village Context section, although equally relevant for district contexts), then the environment was less conducive to women's advocacy efforts and influence. This has particularly been the case when district governments prioritise district infrastructure or industry support, rather than other issues. Indeed, during President Joko Widodo's first term from 2014-2019, infrastructure in particular was one of the main pillars of his administration's economic development policies, which was then also reflected in district priorities.

Other programs and donor presence

One final condition in the onset environments in districts that influenced efforts to bolster women's collective action, both at the grassroots and in the advocacy and program work of MAMPU CSO Partners, was the presence of, and extent to which, development programs and other organisations concerned with gender inclusiveness and community empowerment were active in the district. It was easier to build on prior experience, foundational advocacy and policy work, and to tap into existing networks. This made it possible to share resources for targeted support of advocacy work and women's empowerment programs. However, this proved challenging when CSOs and other organisations had competing or overlapping agendas, significantly different values and ideologies, or when grassroots initiatives in villages had competing or overlapping support from multiple donors that were working with different, or sometimes the same, supporting organisations. Such dynamics introduced a degree of complexity into the district operating environment for programs. In some cases, different donors offered different benefits to CSO partners or villagers through their development programs, with unintended consequences of generating tensions among villages or CSOs.

This was certainly the case in the Pangkep District, which has been targeted by a number of development programs, funding structures, and overlapping priorities—sometimes these programs were complementary with each program tackling a different dimension of poverty reduction, development and women's empowerment so as to be mutually constitutive. In other cases, programs competed for staff, resourcing and attribution of successes on the ground. This created tensions between CSO staff that were encountered in the research not just at the district level, but also in villages where different programs were operating with different budgets, costs covered, and direct financial benefits for villages. In other cases, the dimensions of

empowerment advocated by a particular CSO ran counter to that of a different CSO seeking to support women to tackle the same issue.

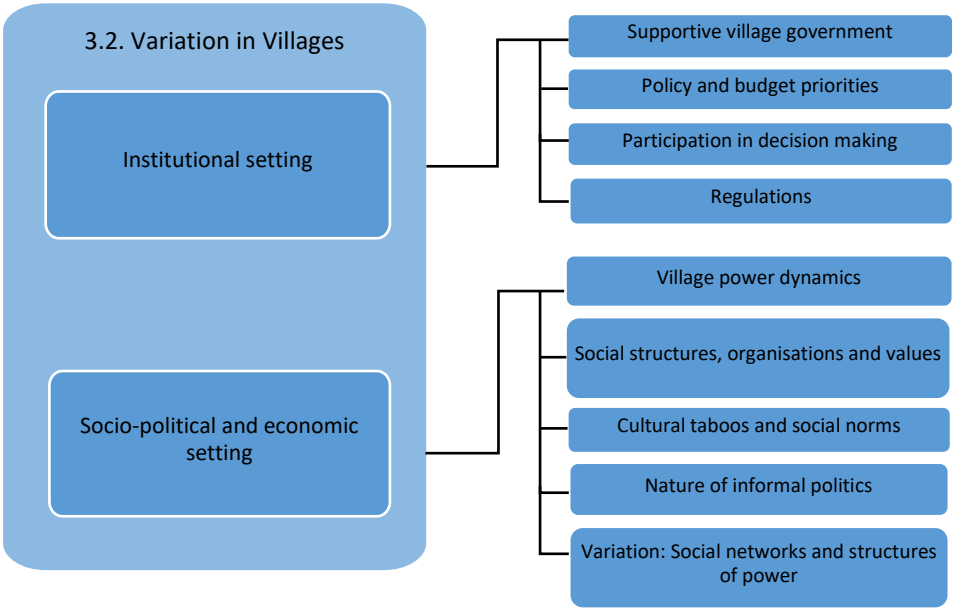
While this is not discussed further at length in this report, when these programs were able to communicate, coordinate and synergise their agendas, programs, and the ways they supported villages then complexity was reduced. In such instances, multi-stakeholder forums tended to work well for coordinating initiatives, identifying overlaps and gaps, and communicating emerging challenges so that programs could be mutually supportive in the goal of supporting gender-inclusive development. It is therefore important to determine at the onset before introducing new initiatives whether there is a crowded space in terms of support for women, development projects, the nature and type of advocacy organisations and if they have differing and competing agendas, and whether there are coordinating mechanisms that can help reduce the complexity in such district environments.

Equally, where different programs are able to synergise their efforts—with each addressing different aspects of the institutional, social, political and economic environment, or different sectors, or different groups of beneficiaries—then there is the potential for greater improvements in that context and for the wellbeing of the poor, and for women more widely. This has certainly been the case in NTT where there is a strong presence of programs, local and international agencies, and CSOs focusing on a number of issues, including those of concern to women such as maternal and infant health and mortality.

3.2 Variation in village contexts

Similar to the district level, there were two key sets of dynamics in village contexts which had implications for efforts to improve gender inclusion, women's collective action and the implementation of the Village Law, namely: The village-level institutional and policy setting, and the socio-political and economic context. Many village dynamics were similar to the discussion above of district dynamics in the ways in which they constrained or enhanced women's influence, albeit on a smaller scale and in ways that were much more personal for villagers, especially given the deep interconnectedness between members of village communities. Key themes in the analysis are outlined in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Key Features of Village Contexts—Shaping Constraints and Opportunities for Women's Influence in Structures of Power and Decision Making



Village-level policy and institutional settings

Similar to the district-level context, policy and formal institutional settings varied between the study villages at the onset of activities supported by MAMPU. Such context dynamics were crucial in helping or hindering women's collective action and efforts to improve women's influence and gender inclusiveness. Key dimensions of the village institutional setting included:

- The degree to which the village government, including the Village Head, was likely to quickly support new gender-oriented initiatives,
- The degree of existing inclusion of women in village decision-making forums and structures of power,
- How village budgets tend to be prioritised, and
- Whether Village Regulations and other initiatives had already been introduced to strengthen women's empowerment.

Overlapping with this in the institutional environment was the nature and form of other organisations and institutions present and the gender dynamics of these organisations. This latter dimension will be discussed further in the discussion of the socio-political and economic context.

Supportive village government

The degree to which the village leadership—in particular the Village Head—already supported or was open to supporting gender inclusion in decision making at the outset helped or hindered the efforts of village women to improve women's influence, particularly in relation to the implementation of the Village Law. In places such as the Cirebon Research village in West Java (discussed further below), the North Hulu Sungai District in Kalimantan, the East Lombok District in NTB (particularly after the new Village Head was elected) and the Tanggamus research village in Lampung, the village government, and the Village Head were open to new initiatives that sought to increase women's influence. Village Head support for gender-inclusiveness was strong indicator, but not the only signal of contextual conduciveness. In other villages, government leaders were more resistant at the outset and took some convincing over time through a range of actions discussed in subsequent sections, such as in the research villages in Bangkalan in East Java and TTU in NTT, among others. Such support from influential village actors was also subject to change over time, particularly at critical junctures such as elections, when support for gender-inclusiveness could change with a new village leadership and administration, a point which we will return to in Section 8.

The onset conditions in many villages in Indonesia, including a subset of those in our research 'intervention' sites, are reflected in the features the two research 'control' villages and not dissimilar to some of the dynamics identified in other studies (e.g. Syukri et al., 2017, 2018). As is described in Box 11, in the Gresik 'control' village in East Java there has been very little women's collective action through groups or other avenues and no known history of CSO intervention. In fact, the village government rejected the idea of introducing broader community empowerment initiatives, initiatives to support women, and the presence of CSOs in this village.

The two women's groups that were present in the village are commonly found throughout Indonesia and the research sites—the state corporatist PKK (Family Welfare Empowerment Organisation) and Posyandu (village maternal and child health group). Fatayat, the women's organisation affiliated with the Islamic mass organisation Nahdlatul Ulama, also organised prayer groups. However, few women participated regularly in the PKK and those that did were of limited diversity and tended to be family members of the present and former village leadership. Others joined periodically, particularly because the village government decided

women could only receive Program Keluarga Harapan (Family Hope Program, a conditional cash transfer program, or PKH) via the PKK in an effort to boost its flailing membership numbers. The leaders of the PKK and Fatayat were also the same people. The Posyandu was a forum in which a small number of women periodically participated, mainly to access visits from the midwife or nurse for basic health checks, particularly for their children. There was almost no inclusion of women in decision-making forums beyond inviting representatives from the PKK leadership (the chairperson, and sometimes the treasurer or secretary), as is the case in most villages.

Box 11: Gresik Control Village—No CSO Presence and Resistance to Empowerment Initiatives.

The Gresik research 'control' village is an isolated village that mainly relies on the fishing industry for its economy (BPS Kabupaten Gresik, 2019). The village has a fish market and a village market, and compared with its two neighbouring villages that have neither of these, it has a reasonably strong economy reliant on small businesses in the fish trade. Fewer villagers earn their incomes as fisher people compared with neighbouring villages (BPS Kabupaten Gresik, 2019). The village is difficult to reach and can only be accessed by two routes. The first is by a single lane, poorly maintained side road, 9 km from a main road, approximately an hour's drive from the capital of Gresik. The road is surrounded by salt farms, milk fish farms, and shrimp ponds that stretch for 2 km on either side of the road. These farms frequently flood, and the road is almost inaccessible during the wet season. The other is via a two-hour boat trip from the district capital, although this route is usually only used by fisher people.

All villagers are Muslim and both Islamic and cultural festivities are celebrated by sharing food with neighbours. However, other than that, villagers are disinclined to undertake their daily activities together or organise through formal groups. They do not organise through fisher people's groups, village-owned enterprises (BUMDes), savings and loans groups, nor through small business groups. In contrast to agrarian societies that may rely on collective farming and other collective production in swidden agriculture, as a coastal society, livelihoods in this village have tended to be performed individually over generations, as was explained by one villager (5 November, 2019): *"Going to sea does not require a lot of people, even with just two people you can go to sea [to catch fish] and get money."*

Women in this village encounter many of the same challenges found in other research villages, ranging from domestic violence to financial dependence on their husbands, and there are very few collective activities. With the exception of state-corporatist women's groups (the PKK and the Posyandu), and prayer groups run by Fatayat, the Gresik research 'control' village has few women's groups (with limited membership and diversity) and a limited number of groups in the village more widely. It has also never had a CSO conduct activities in the village. The Village Head is resistant to CSO presence or empowerment programs, arguing that they create social conflict with the changes they introduce. In his view, the village had experienced such 'conflict'—or what might be the tensions that sometimes emerge with changing processes or challenges to the status quo ways of allocating resources—as a result of, what he perceived to be, data inconsistencies saw some villagers get benefits from government social protection programs while others did not.

One villager explained (12 November, 2019) *"I do not agree with empowerment [programs]. [The programs] do not empower people; rather they create conflict in the village. [The conflict] then makes it harder for the Village Head or other village officials. So it is better to not have any empowerment programs, because the villagers are already empowered. Just make a program that suits our needs better, such as constructing an access road to our village."*

There is very little involvement of women in village decision making in this village. Few people over all and even fewer women attend village decision-making meetings such as MusDes, and participation is by invitation from the village government. The only women invited are from the PKK, which sometimes sends representatives. There is only one woman on the Village Consultative Council (BPD), who was appointed based on instruction from the subdistrict to include a female representative—this representative was also chosen from the PKK.

Very few villagers go to decision-making meetings, and even then, they only tend to participate when financial incentives are offered—programs that offer no incentives lack participants in meetings or other activities. Moreover, when the income generated from the villagers' livelihood surpasses the incentives offered for participation in

government programs, villagers are less inclined to give up their time to participate. One villager explained (8 November, 2019) *"In this village, with a little bit of work, they can get money…It is difficult to encourage [the villagers] to participate [in activities], when there's no money offered."*

As the villagers are more inclined to participate in programs when financial incentives are offered, they tend to be enthusiastic about government programs such as Bantuan Langsung Tunai [Unconditional Cash Transfer Program, or BLT] and Program Keluarga Harapan [Family Hope Program, a conditional cash transfer program, or PKH]. Villagers can access the PKH via the PKK on instruction from the village government.

The village, in the view of many villagers, receives little attention, and few visits, from the district government officials and others, given the difficult access routes to the village. A common view was that, *"It's rare to have the government visit us. Sometimes subdistrict government officials do, but usually we have to go to the subdistrict [capital] for which we have to travel 'via the ponds' for 9 km. Not to mention civil society organisations, they never come here. At the very most, we have college students coming to do their KKN [Kuliah Kerja Nyata—compulsory community service program]."* 11 November 2019.

This village rejected options to introduce a Women's School (Sekolah Perempuan) group in the village as a part of the Gresik district government's initiative to replicate these Schools in other villages. The village government did, however, support one infrastructure project that women described as important, namely constructing an Early Childhood Education Centre (PAUD) on village land. This project was advocated by the leader of the PKK predominantly through her ties with, and informal lobbying of, the Village Head. The Gresik control village, unlike other villages, did not have a PAUD at the time.

In the control village in the Pangkep District in South Sulawesi, the situation was reasonably similar to that of the Gresik control site, with only marginally more diverse forms of associational life available to women. Again, the village had a PKK, but in this case the PKK had established an internal savings and loans group and collaborated with a sewing group—mainly for a small subset of elite women in the village. It also had a Posyandu whose members were the same as that of the PKK. In contrast to Gresik, it also had a state-corporatist Women Farmers Group (Kelompok Wanita Tani, KWT), which again had the same members as the PKK and a few additional members.

Compared with the Gresik 'control' site, there was slightly more women's representation in village governance (See Box 11)—albeit in a limited way and with no implications for gender-inclusive priorities in the implementation of the Village Law. The prior female Village Head had held the position at a time before the Village Law was implemented, and in her words, "I had very little resources and didn't want to encourage women too much and get their hopes up, as I was limited in what I could do"—although she did support one teacher (a woman) to get funding for an Early Childhood Education Centre (PAUD) building from the district government. When the new Village Head (the former Village Head's nephew) was elected, he appointed three female members to the village government under the Village Law, although these were all his family members. He also set up a village-owned enterprise, a café, to be run by and for the benefit of three female members of his family. Thus, while endogenous change for gender inclusiveness in village government can occur without 'external' intervention, in this village it was predominantly for the benefit of the Village Head and his family, and there were there were no other village initiatives that focused on gender inclusion or proposals funded under the Village Law that were put forward by women.

As with Gresik, participation in the village development planning meeting (Musrenbangdes) and other village decision-making meetings such as MusDes in the Pangkep 'control' site was by invitation only. Only the chairperson of the PKK, the KWT and the Posyandu were invited. In the most recent meeting, the PKK and KWT attended for 10 minutes to sign in, and then spent the rest of the time cooking for the meeting. One woman, the same teacher who had advocated for the PAUD with the district mentioned above, has managed

to make her way to the Musrenbangdes several times to advocate for funds for renovation of the PAUD, but with little backup each time this has been rejected. One woman had also made her way onto the BPD as an elected candidate as she had become well known through running a fishpond, but as with Gresik this was the extent of women's representation. She was the only woman who spoke up in village decision-making meetings, while the three female village government staff who were the Village Head's family members tended to remain silent or not attend.

Policy and budget priorities

Similar to the district level, policy and budget priorities at the village level also influenced the possibility of focusing on women's priorities and gender inclusion. While this was in some ways related to the socio-economic wealth of particular villages (if villages had bigger budgets, they might be more able to fund a variety of activities) it did not always follow that wealth was correlated with village appetites for supporting women's priority activities. Social norms, instructions from above, leadership preferences and many other aspects informed what villages had already deemed to be priorities at the onset.

Infrastructure was deemed a priority in many regions for village budgets, more so than 'soft' development initiatives (education, health, learning, skills development, safehouses and protection, etc.) and services. This was in part due to the prevailing needs across much of the archipelago, particularly in poorer areas. It was also due to the way that the Village Law was rolled out early on and village governments sought guidance on implementation. Given how new the initiative was, the Ministry of Villages sought to identify priority areas for villages in the first few years. Priority areas included infrastructure (aligned with President Widodo's development priorities), water reservoirs, and village-owned enterprises to create livelihoods opportunities. These did not always align easily with empowerment agendas focused on services, education, awareness raising, knowledge generation and a range of diverse activities. Under a new Minister of Villages Regulation released in late 2019, the suggested priorities have been widened to include many of the aspects that women have deemed to be priorities in our research sites. However, given the lag to implementation and the timing of this research, how these changes might impact on gender inclusion across the archipelago will be more evident in future research.

Where women's self-identified needs or those advocated by women's groups were aligned with what the village government already conceived to be priorities, or could be framed as such, there was less resistance to requests from women. This also worked in reverse—if women's priorities (or those of women who advocated with the support of CSO partners) were not aligned with what were normally conceived of as village priorities, then it was a much more difficult context for women to navigate and have influence.

Participation in decision making

One of the key ways that influence is exercised in villages is through the village decision-making meetings such as MusDes (*musyawarah desa*) where decisions are made through deliberation and consensus building. Inclusion of women in MusDes was one of the most important indicators of the degree of existing influence women had in each village at the outset and this varied across the research villages.

In general, analysis found that as more women became involved in such decision-making forums, with some taking on leadership within and outside government roles, this better facilitated women's influence and the introduction of concrete initiatives driven by women. It also led to slow changes in the structures of power to be more inclusive of women. In some villages, it was very uncommon for more than a handful of women, if any, to attend village decision-making meetings prior to CSO interventions. The village leaders were resistant

to change in these areas. This included the 'intervention' research villages in places such as Bangkalan, East Lombok and Pangkep, and both the research 'intervention' and 'control' villages in the Gresik District. Such areas were deemed to be less conducive to gender inclusion and women's empowerment at the onset, requiring additional efforts and special strategies for women to overcome the obstacles discussed throughout this report but particularly in Sections 4, 5 and 7.

Other regions displayed more conducive environments reflecting an environment similar to the Pangkep research 'control' village, both in terms of already having women in decision-making positions or being open to supporting new empowerment initiatives. For example, in the Cirebon research village, while it was generally not the norm for women to attend village meetings (the village was considered moderately conducive at the outset), over time this changed and women also influenced the implementation of the Village Law.

The following excerpt from one of the case studies illustrating a Story of Change shows such openness and how the interaction between multiple village context features, women's collective action and CSOs supporting village women (in this case with the support of MAMPU Partner, 'Aisyiyah) can lead to change. While we go into such support in later analysis, we use the example of the Cirebon research village to give early insights to such processes and the importance of networked collective action involving village women and, in some cases, other actors as a means of influencing change. In this study location, women collaborated through groups, introduced new initiatives and changed practices in the village to be more gender-inclusive. The times for village meetings were shifted to afternoons so that women could attend and new Village Regulations on priorities for women were introduced. Over time, the Village Head became increasingly supportive and open to greater gender inclusiveness, new organisations and gender-oriented initiatives, even when they did not align with the existing social-institutional affiliations in the region. (See Box 12).

Box 12: A Story of Change in Cirebon—Promoting More Inclusive Village Decision Making and Development

The Cirebon research village in West Java reflects many villages in Indonesia, particularly on Java island. It has a predominantly Muslim population (90%) and most villagers are affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). According to village monograph figures, only 30% of adults continued education after finishing primary school, and only 17% of adults have finished both junior and senior high school. The village lacks good school infrastructure, and many people, including women, quit school to find work.

"The main problem for women in this village is education. For good reasons or not, many women go to school, but only 30% [go beyond primary school education]. We have a tea factory nearby that employs women…There was an incident…about underage workers in 2011. The issue [of the factory] employing underage workers who were mostly girls was brought to the local police." Village Head, 25 February 2019.

For a long time, people in the village, particularly women, had limited opportunities to participate in decision-making forums such as MusDes, MusDus, and Village Development Planning Meetings (Musrenbangdes). This was because women were perceived to lack sufficient education to have input into village decisions, and these forums were held at night. The latter limited women's opportunities to attend, given the prevailing social norms in which it was considered unsafe for women to leave the home after dark and they also had other household responsibilities. The development priorities set by the village have also tended to focus mainly on infrastructure—63% of the village budget is allocated for infrastructure, while around 8% is allocated for community empowerment, and 2% for the Posyandu, although this is slowly changing.

First, village women advocated to change MusDes meeting times. Since 2018, MusDes forums have been held on Sunday afternoons, so that more people, including women, can attend. Women who attend Musrenbangdes include female village officials and 'Aisyiyah (a MAMPU Partner) cadres and members of the Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA) women's group established in the village. According to the Village Secretary, Sutianti—who is also a cadre associated with 'Aisyiyah focused on reproductive health—30% of participants in the 2018 Musrenbangdes were women. Hatini, a BSA member and another reproductive health village cadre, described how many women felt nervous about participating in the meeting: *"I was scared, in my mind I kept wondering if the proposal was the wrong path. My fear was that it shouldn't be me, I shouldn't make a proposal here."* Hatini, Cirebon research village, 2 March 2019.

Despite feeling nervous about participating, Hatini successfully proposed that the village invest in a new set of *rebana* musical instruments (tambourines) for the local women's group. "*Yes it was accepted. [But] it doesn't matter if it was successful or not. The important thing is that we proposed it."* Hatini, 2 March 2019.

Second, there are growing changes in this village in terms of women's organisational structures, influence, women taking up leadership positions and driving new initiatives, which has increasingly seen the support of and interactions between village women and the Village Head (*Kuwu* in local language), with whom many had little contact previously. The *Kuwu* has strong authority in village governance in Cirebon District, and plays a key role in decision making. The current *Kuwu* in the Cirebon research village has offered a new leadership approach, welcoming opportunities offered by collaborating with external actors, such as 'Aisyiyah, NU-affiliate organisations, and USAID. He is increasingly concerned with gender inclusion and women's empowerment, having witnessed many of the benefits provided by earlier initiatives and through his growing networks with village women. While women seem to welcome women's participation and speaking up in formal village forums, most women tend to also relay their suggestions informally to the Village Head through their growing connections with him.

In the Cirebon research village, there are strong religious values and ties to NU. However, the *Kuwu* supported 'Aisyiyah's entry to the village to support knowledge sharing and activities focused on reproductive health, even though they are associated with another mass Islamic organisation Muhammadiyah, rather than NU. 'Aisyiyah supported the establishment of the BSA women's group in the village. The BSA group is a forum for village women of childbearing age (defined as 15–49 years old) who come from disadvantaged backgrounds to learn about women's reproductive health and family planning. Village women become 'Aisyiyah reproductive health village cadres through the BSA and run these education programs for women, with assistance from 'Aisyiyah at the regional level. These women acted as agents of change, sharing knowledge other village women.

The women's groups in the Cirebon research village provide spaces and ways for village women to be involved in policy making processes at the village level under the Village Law. Their collective action directly shaped a 2017 Village Regulation on Women's Reproductive Health. Village women actively contributed to the formulation and drafting of this Village Regulation, bolstered by leadership and organisational skills from their group activities, and increased knowledge of reproductive health issues, gained from cadre training.

Women also established other new initiatives and groups, such as Women's Farmers Groups (the KWT, mentioned above). The *Kuwu* supported women's efforts (who were backed up by 'Aisyiyah), to establish the KWT and its Nutritional Garden (Kebun Gizi) in 2019. The KWT group focuses primarily on maintaining the Garden, providing agricultural training, and creating livelihood opportunities for poor women in the village. The KWT group also plays an important role in ensuring women's collective action and participation through routine farming activities. Through the KWT, women proposed to shift the Nutritional Garden to a more strategic and fertile location in the MusDes.

Hatini, a BSA member and reproductive health cadre, was chosen as the head of the Nutritional Garden. Her daughter describes how this position provided livelihood and leadership opportunities for her mum: *"I have seen really positive [impacts] for my mum. Now she is not scared when she is trading [in the market]. Whatever she does she pushes forward herself. For the Nutritional Garden she has been supported by her family and 'Aisyiyah. Before she wasn't very brave in public. Now, thanks be to God, she is confident to be social in groups and in organisations."* Hatini's daughter, Cirebon research village, 3 March 2019.

Regulations

Many villages have begun to introduce regulations, particularly given their authority under decentralisation, which has been further bolstered by the Village Law. Introducing regulations in Indonesia is a key policy lever, as regulations are used to commit subsequent governments to the agenda of prior administrations, but also it is often difficult to introduce new policies or programs without the administrative authority provided by a regulation. This includes regulations for policy implementation that often stipulate budget commitments. It is harder for subsequent administrations to revise or abolish these regulations without undertaking the work to build coalitions of support to do so, although they may be lax in implementing the regulations of prior regimes.

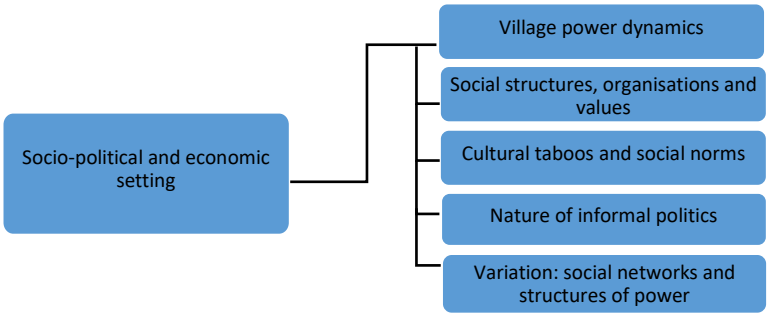
Nonetheless, as Village Regulations related to gender inclusion, women's priorities and broader women's empowerment begin to be ratified and implemented in different places in Indonesia, this increases the likelihood of longer-term institutional support for gender inclusion. At the time CSOs gained MAMPU support in 2013, there were no examples of research villages (both in control and intervention sites) with Village Regulations that pertained specifically to women's priority issues or empowerment agendas, although some regulations did exist at the district level where there was a history of gender focused advocacy, such as in Tanggamus in Lampung (see Box 5). However, as is evident in the case of the Cirebon research village above (Box 12) and as we shall see in later sections, this changed over time.

Socio-political and economic context

As with districts, variation in the village socio-political context was also important for enabling or constraining women's influence in the village and gender-inclusive decision making. In places where power was concentrated in the hands of a small few, it was more difficult to change social norms and gain funding for women's initiatives in the event that the existing socio-political and cultural environment did not already support the inclusion of women in decision making. In places where power was more dispersed, there were more avenues for change. The role of the Village Head was important, particularly administratively, for improving the position of women in villages. But this was not the only key to unlocking support for more gender-inclusive decision making—how support could be garnered was also contingent on the way social organisations, networks and structures of power were configured. We will see in later sections, the ways women—through groups and networks, and backed up by CSOS—were able to use multiple sources of pressure to navigate the village context, and to collectively advocate for and influence change.

Similar to the district level, prevailing social norms on the role of women in public life—which shaped attitudes and behaviours towards women and of women themselves—enabled or constrained the efforts of women to exercise voice. There was significant variation in these dynamics across all villages in the study. Key aspects are outlined in Figure 8 and discussed further below.

Figure 8: Key Aspects of the Socio-economic and Political Setting that Shape Women's Influence


Socio-political and economic setting
Village power dynamics
Social structures, organisations and values
Cultural taboos and social norms
Nature of informal politics
Variation: social networks and structures of power

Village power dynamics

Interrelated with the institutional environment above (and village leadership support) was village power dynamics, particularly among the village leadership, made up of coalitions and factions. This was an important aspect of context that proved a barrier to entry or a supportive factor for new gender-focused grassroots initiatives in villages. It also shaped efforts to facilitate women's groups, networks, voice and collective action. More conducive village environments had supportive leaders with the widespread legitimacy who:

- Encouraged others in villages to change practices, processes and priorities in situations where women were at a disadvantage,
- Engaged with new initiatives introduced by village women or separately/together with CSOs touched on cultural taboos or challenged established practices (especially in funds disbursement), or
- Sought to change established practices in relation to the inclusion of women in decision making or priority setting.

In some places, there were factional splits between the village administration (such as the Village Head and government staff) and the Village Consultative Council (Badan Permusyawaratan Desa, BPD). In such cases, if either party supported an aspect of the empowerment agenda that represented something new or a significant change then it was in the interests of the opposition to try to undermine this agenda.

We certainly saw such politicking in the research villages in Central and East Lombok, and North Hulu Sungai, among others. In the Central Lombok research village, for example, the new Village Head was elected from outside the 'nobility' or established ranks, and petty theft increased in the weeks following his inauguration. Interviewees argued that the increase in theft was deliberate and organised so as to demonstrate the new Village Head was unable to 'control' the village and as such he had little legitimacy. In turn this meant that any new gender-inclusive initiatives he endorsed faced some resistance.

Similar resistance was encountered by a new Village Head in East Lombok (Box 13), while in the North Hulu Sungai research village, the Village Consultative Council despised the Village Head for personal reasons. In both cases, such actions sought to destabilise the new Village Heads and show that they had insufficient authority to reign in dissenting ranks. In both cases, women's groups, and CSOs new to the village had to carefully manage their interactions with such politics at the onset of their activities and especially across election periods (see further discussion in Section 8).

Box 13: Change and Resistance in East Lombok

In East Lombok, a new Village Head who was previously a Hamlet Head was elected with a significant degree of support from village women. Prior to this, he had been involved in the work of BaKTI to introduce Village Constituent Groups, made up of many and women, which sought to connect villagers to political leaders in the district. He had already supported a more open and inclusive agenda in hamlet-level meetings (MusDus) and been actively involved in the Village Constituent Group. He beat the 'nobility' in this village to gain the position of Village Head, which upset the establishment.

In East Lombok, the village office was set on fire, just after the new Village Head was inaugurated in an effort to destabilise his leadership. Factional splits remain to this day. However, new initiatives proposed by and supported by women have since come to fruition in this village, as they are more confident in attending meetings and advocating for change.

Social structures, organisations and values

Social organisations in Indonesia range from mass organisations, including mass religious organisations, CSOs, youth sports clubs, savings and loans groups, prayer groups, as well as livelihoods associations and groups, among others. Branches of mass organisations such NU and Muhammadiyah (each with different religious affiliations) and other organisations such as martial arts associations often have affiliated groups in villages. NU and Muhammadiyah also have women's branches—Fatayat and Muslimat with NU, and 'Aisyiyah with Muhammadiyah—that predominantly focus their attention on health and education. There are also state corporatist organisations, that have been established, endorsed and sometimes funded by the state—with a long history pre-dating the reform era—but which operate in communities. These organisations are discussed further in Sections 5 and 6. There are also looser social networks that exist outside of formal organisations based on family, ethnic, religious, customary, livelihood, business or other ties.

These salient identity groups, social organisations, institutions and networks around which communities are organised, as well as their leadership, have the potential to influence customs and social norms in communities. This has implications for social attitudes, behavioural norms and traditions relating to gender roles, representation, rights and responsibilities (or what might we call the 4Rs) in public and private life. These social interests—through informal and formal political associations and as lobby groups—also have connections to policy decision makers, giving such social organisations significant influence. Social organisations and structures, religious and customary norms, family loyalties and hierarchies, and the type and density of social networks varied significantly across the village research sites, which had significant implications for how, and the degree to which, women could exercise voice and influence (Sections 4 and 5), and the ways CSOs could support them to navigate social dynamics in the contexts where they lived (see Section 7).

In some villages there were diverse social institutions ranging from livelihoods groups, to savings and loans groups, religious and customary groups, and all manner of social groupings in which villagers, including women, participated. This tended to produce a diversity of views and forms of representation. In other places, there was less diversity in social organisation and particular types of social and religious groups dominated—this was certainly the case in places such as Bangkalan (see Box 6) in which women tended to only participate in prayer groups and other religiously-affiliated activities. If women sought to change norms, then there was significant resistance or apathy in communities and from social and political leaders at the outset.

However, conservative social values did not always align entirely with the degree of homogeneity of religious and ethnic groups in each village, particularly if the leadership was open to change. In Box 12 above, we see that in the Cirebon research village, most of the population was Muslim, but the leadership was open to building knowledge of more sensitive topics such as women's reproductive and sexual health. In the Gresik research 'intervention' village where informal 'Women's Schools' (Sekolah Perempuan) were established, the Village Head supported committing some of the Village Fund for the Schools despite his conservative values. This commitment occurred as a result of women's collective action.

The nature of informal politics

Closely related to the way social and organisational structures informed social values was the way social institutions constituted an informal source of political power and authority—outside the formal dimensions

of village/district governance—with influence over formal institutions and policy and political decision making. This also shaped the landscape for women's collective action at the onset and over time.

For example, in Bangkalan, policy and political decision making has tended to be significantly influenced by family-based politics and the *pesantren* (see the discussion above in the section on political economy). This also tended to intersect with formal politics—many key state positions were held by members of the same family over generations. In TTU, the Catholic Church had significant influence on communities and customary institutions and the Church's leadership was a key source of support for political candidates. The Church's leadership also had influence in communities and gained influential positions in government. In some cases, such as North Hulu Sungai, power was concentrated in particular individuals whose attitudes—whether conservative or progressive—were highly influential. In other contexts, such as the Cirebon research village, power was less concentrated in the hands of a few, giving broader avenues for women's groups to influence change in norms or rules.

While not discussed in detail above, how informal networks between actors helped shaped opportunities to influence policies was also a key feature of district contexts. For example, in Pangkep, the Head of the District Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) who had close ties to local CSOs, helped open doors with the District Head for new initiatives. Similar dynamics were also found in other districts such as Tanggamus.

Cultural taboos and social norms

When a key challenge encountered by village women was one that touched on cultural taboos (such as domestic violence in some regions, women's reproductive health, and ending child marriage in other regions), or was focused on an issue of less interest to the village or district leadership, this created significant constraints for women's collective action and influence at the outset—signalling a difficult environment for strengthening gender inclusiveness in decision making.

For example, in a number of research areas, gender-based violence, in particular domestic violence, was not an issue widely and publicly discussed, with often few policies or regulations available to enact programs to aimed at reducing such violence. Women's efforts to build broad support from the public and the political leadership to prevent such violence was severely constrained, given the sensitivity of the issue. Similar dynamics were encountered in regions such as Bangkalan where reducing child marriage (see Box 14) has proved a challenging and sensitive issue to address in policy and grassroots activities. Child marriage is interrelated to issues around social protection and ensuring legibility for poor citizens so they have the appropriate documentation to access services and programs.

Box 14: Child Marriage in Bangkalan

A major issue for women in Bangkalan District (and also in Central Lombok District) is child marriage, which, according to the District Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, accounts for 17% of all marriages in the district. Actual levels of child marriage may even be higher as many child marriages are informal and not recorded by the government. Indeed, many in the region do not have legally recognised or registered marriages and it difficult for women to obtain documents such as KTP (identity cards) and Kartu Keluarga (Family Cards—KK), which they need to access various government welfare and social protection programs. Aside from religious norms that hasten marriage, child marriage is seen as a solution for breaking the poverty cycle by reducing the number of dependents in a family. While at the time of the research there were regulations that stipulated the minimum age of marriage for women was 16 (a recent amendment of the Marriage Law in 2019 raised the age that women can get married from 16 to 19), marriage before this age could take place with a recommendation, or 'dispensation' from the religious court, as was outlined by one government official:

"The Marriage Law stipulates that the minimum age for marriage is 16 years old, while Islamic rules allow girls as young as 9 years old to marry. In Madurese culture, child marriage is a way to fulfil religious norms. It is common for arranged marriages or engagements to be organised for children in junior high school, so there are lots of cases where children are married as soon as they finish school. The Office of Religious Affairs allows for marriage under the age of 16 as long as it comes with a recommendation from the Religious Court. Without this recommendation, the [request to officiate a] marriage will be denied. To avoid this procedure, lots of child marriages are just carried out religiously, without being recorded in the civil registry." Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) official, Bangkalan 20 February 2019.

Variation: Social networks and the structures of formal and informal power

As we shall see in Sections 5 and 7, understanding the structure of social networks in village contexts was crucial for women to access and influence authoritative figures in village life and for CSOs to enter villages, navigate challenges and leverage opportunities to support village women. Social networks and the ways power is structured, varied significantly across the village contexts.

In some villages power was concentrated in the hands of a few, whose sources of power were drawn from both their formal positions in the state with the authority to make policy decisions and their informal sources of social power and legitimacy that meant they had influence over social norms too. In such situations there were limited options at the outset for women to exercise voice other than to find ways to garner support from these influential leaders. This was certainly the case in the Gresik research 'control' village, and in the research 'intervention' villages in Bangkalan, Labuhan Batu, and Pangkep, which were also deemed to have difficult contexts for pursuing empowerment agendas. In some places these networks were shaped by economic interdependence and types of livelihoods (such as in the fishing sector in Pangkep), in others by family connections (such as in Bangkalan), or in family and customary systems (such as in NTT). In others, power was dispersed among more actors, creating greater opportunities for women to seek support from a variety of actors for their agenda, such as in the Tanggamus and North Hulu Sungai villages. We explore the importance of social networks further in Section 5 and 7.

3.3 Differentiating contexts: Constraints and opportunities for change

Drawing together the key factors which may constrain or enable the opportunities for collective action and women's empowerment initiatives from the discussion above, we have developed a framework as a heuristic tool on which to map the causal processes (or pathways to influence) by which women have achieved greater influence on decision making and the structures of power, particularly in relation to the implementation of the Village Law. In this framework, we have developed four broad categories of contexts, which are more or less conducive to women's collective action, gender inclusiveness, and empowerment—highly and moderately conducive environments, and moderately and highly difficult environments. These are not strict categories and need to be understood more as a continuum within which to identify changes over time.

We have developed indicators of 'difficulty' in these contexts for introducing or strengthening women's influence, which we discuss below and then use to map the onset conditions of the research sites. We discuss three categories below—highly difficult and moderately difficult contexts, and moderately conducive contexts. This framework aids our later analysis of forms and patterns of women's collective action undertaken by women's groups and wider networks in rural villages and districts, and changes to contexts over time, as well as the different supporting actions undertaken by CSOs, with the aim of bolstering women's voice and influence. We do not consider highly conducive contexts at this point, as, at the onset of the period covered by the research when MAMPU CSO Partners scaled up their program, no sites displayed

the features of what might constitute highly conducive environments. In such contexts, the indicators of conduciveness are similar to those for moderately conducive environments, but in highly conducive environments one would expect to find stronger indications that gender inclusion has become more institutionalised in structures of power and decision making at village and district levels, and more embedded in practice.

Highly difficult contexts for gender inclusion and women's empowerment

Highly difficult contexts for gender inclusiveness, women's collective action, and ultimately women's influence on governance, development, and power structures, are those in which there are weak, if any representation of women in decision-making structures, and few policies, regulations and frameworks that encourage gender inclusiveness or affirmative action to improve the position of poor women in particular, at both the district *and* village levels. In these contexts, there is also often a narrow coalition of influential elites in leadership positions at both the district and village levels that have little, if any, interest in undertaking initiatives to improve the position of women, and few champions willing to take up the cause.

In such contexts, at the village level and in the district more widely, there tend to be deeply ingrained patriarchal, religious or cultural norms which encourage women to conform to stereotypes on gender roles. These stereotypes limit women's participation in public life and decision making compared with other districts, and in many cases promote women's core role as managing the household and/or as mothers. Often in such regions, gender inclusiveness and women's empowerment agendas rub up against cultural taboos on the discussion of, for example, sexual and reproductive health, and domestic and sexual violence.

In these contexts, particularly in villages, there are limited existing forms of women's groups and organisations, limited participation in these groups, particularly by more vulnerable women, and those that do exist tend to only marginally influence village decision making, if at all. Such existing groups also tend to undertake little, if any, collective action to improve the position of women beyond supporting maternal and child health. In such contexts, there also tend to be few, if any, active CSOs or other organisations and institutions focused on supporting women's influence in village decision making. Finally, in such places, core challenges for women—that might be considered as sectoral or cross-cutting gender specific challenges that women encounter—such as changing social norms around violence against women, or improving knowledge of reproductive health and access to related services are often not closely aligned with existing priorities in districts and villages.

Moderately difficult contexts for gender inclusion and women's empowerment

Moderately difficult contexts for gender inclusiveness and women's influence on governance, development, and power structures reflect many of the features of highly difficult contexts, however there are some indicators of inclusiveness (or changes underway) in one or two aspects at either the district or village levels, but not both. These contexts tend to have greater indicators of opportunities in the institutional, social or political context to improve the position of women, even if these are limited, at district *or* village levels. That is, moderately difficult contexts are ones where challenges exist at district level for gender inclusion, but the village environment is more conducive to change (or change is already underway). Or, the district context is conducive to women's empowerment (or change is underway) but the village context remains highly difficult for introducing, promoting or strengthening gender inclusion and women's influence in public life.

Moderately difficult contexts usually have some combination of the following features. First, there is likely to be a history of civil society advocacy work or influential champions in government or other social institutions that promote gender awareness and inclusiveness, particularly at the district level, which have already had some influence on the policy environment so as to, at least to a degree, accommodate women's priorities. Second, in situations where existing policy frameworks are yet to accommodate women's needs and priorities at either district or village levels, there may nonetheless be leaders in government (in legislature and/or executive) or public figures close to government that are open to change and willing to push gender inclusion agendas forward within the structures of government or in society more widely, which was the case in North Hulu Sungai.

Third, while in some cases there may be willingness to champion improvements in the institutional environment and/or invest in women's self-determined priorities, there is often a lack of knowledge on how to build policies, programs and decision-making processes to be more supportive and inclusive of women. We found that in such environments, influential leaders (particularly at the district level) tended to turn to, or were willing to respond to and work with, those CSOs or other organisations focused on gender inclusion and women's empowerment to develop more conducive policies, programs and processes for women to have influence.

In moderately difficult contexts, if the district was conducive but the village was not, there was either a higher degree of variability in the nature and types of women's groups across the district and in participation, but the type and nature of women's groups, and participation in groups was limited in the specific research village, especially for more vulnerable women. Conversely, if the village was more conducive but the district less so, we saw more varied forms of groups and membership and a supportive village leadership for (improving) gender inclusion. However, on the whole, at least at the outset, the district institutional environment remained a constraint, there was disinterest among the leadership, or some of the key challenges encountered by women that had become priority issues for them were not aligned with existing district priorities.

Moderately conducive contexts for gender inclusion and women's empowerment

Finally, in some research sites *both* the district and village contexts were together more conducive to gender inclusive governance and development, and ultimately women's influence on the implementation of the Village Law. In such areas, there was often (but not always) a greater representation of women in district and village decision-making forums and in public office or there were indications of growing representation. There was also often a long and strong history of advocacy work of CSOs, or government and other champions to build awareness of gender issues. This was certainly the case in Tanggamus and Bantul at the district level. There were also indications of changing policies supporting women's priority issues and the inclusion of women in decision making forums, or as was the case in North Hulu Sungai, a strong political willingness at both district and village levels to do so, but often a lack of knowledge as to how to make this happen. In these places too, patriarchal gender norms were either less embedded or beginning to change, and social norms supported more diversified roles for women—in some instances this was evidenced by a greater diversity of village groups, and women's groups and membership at the village level, or no aversion to establishing new groups.

In some instances, institutional change was underway but weakly implemented and in other places this implementation was stronger in some sectors but weaker in relation to other women's priority issues. In

these environments too, government had already begun, at least at a small scale, to invest budgets in sectoral issues deemed a priority for women. Nonetheless, these were indicators of greater conduciveness to improving women's influence over time with more intensified focus on gender inclusiveness and less dramatic change required compared with highly and moderately difficult contexts. An overview of the key features of each type of context is provided in Figure 10 below.

Mapping the research sites: Onset conditions

Below we provide an overview of the degree of conduciveness for gender inclusion and women's influence in decision making, governance, policy and in public life at the onset of the MAMPU program in each of the research sites. In mapping each research site, there may have been cases where a region displayed many of the indicators in one of the broader categories, but one or two of the indicators fell into other categories. We considered each site on balance across all indicators. During the analysis of women's collective action and influence on the implementation of the Village Law, we explore if and how this situation may have changed over time and revisit the conditions in the research sites by the end of 2019 in Section 8. As is clear in Figure 9, there was significant variation in the research sites at the onset, and villages with both greater and lesser degrees of context conduciveness were found on and off Java. For example, research sites with different degrees of difficulty were situated on Java island, such as Bantul (moderately conducive), the Gresik 'intervention' village (moderately difficult) and the two highly difficult sites of Bangkalan and the Gresik 'control'. The remaining research sites located on other islands displayed degrees of diversity.

Figure 9: Research Site Onset Context Conditions—Gender Inclusiveness and Women's Influence

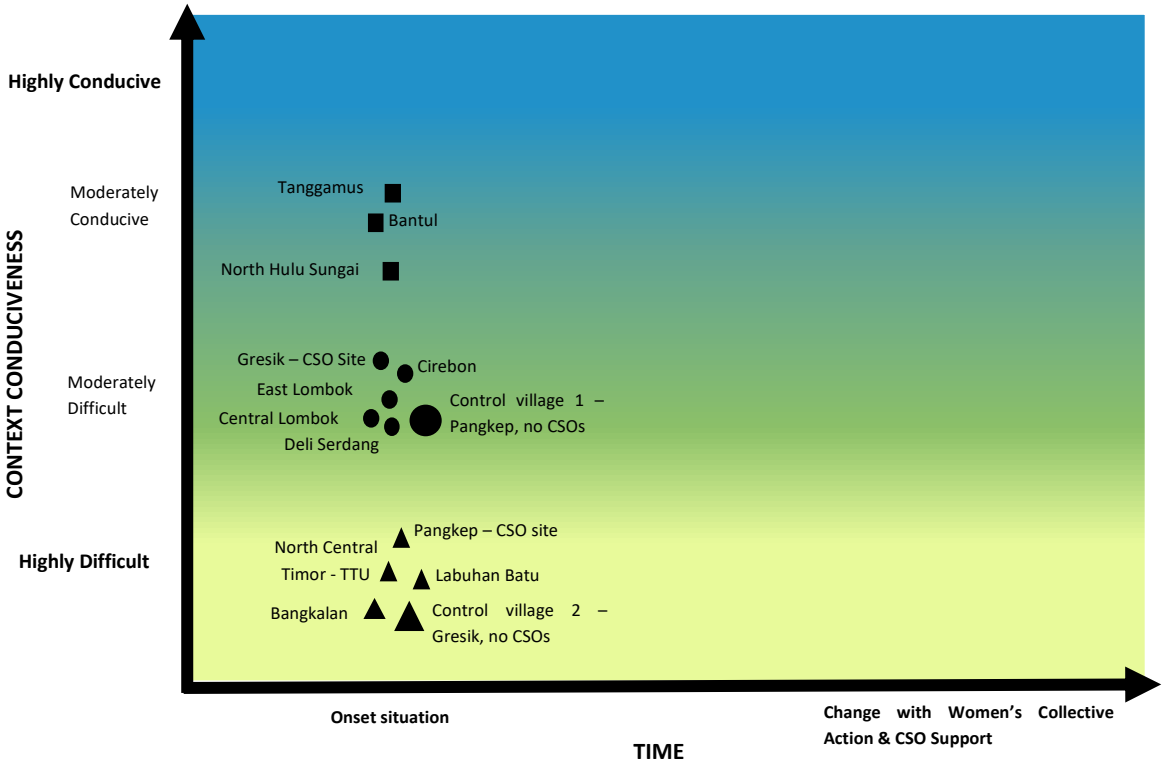


Figure 10: Framework—Contextual Conduciveness for Gender Inclusion, Women's Empowerment and Influence on Decision-making, Development and Structures of Power

Type of Context/Conduciveness	Indicators
Moderately conducive contexts **District** **Village** ✓ ✓	• Existing policies that (begin to) support gender inclusion, women's empowerment and/or women's priorities. • Often a prior history of CSO advocacy or efforts of other influential government or non-government champions, organisations and institutions advocating for improved gender inclusion and women's empowerment. • Openness to (or evidence of) district and village government/non-government leaders supporting gender-inclusive decision making. • Existing norms (beginning to) support diverse gender roles (women pursue roles beyond household duties). • Greater representation of women in district and village leadership positions and decision-making forums or change occurring. • Strong, diversified existing women's groups (for collective action) of diverse types that support different women's needs; often a prior history of collective action. • Women's priority issues were/could be aligned with existing district/village priorities.
Moderately difficult contexts **District** **Village** ✓ ✘	*Displayed some indicators of a moderately conducive district context*– at least some indication of openness of government/non-government leaders to gender inclusion/accommodating women's self-identified priorities, emerging policies support empowerment/include women in decision making processes, and often prior CSO advocacy work or similar efforts from other government champions or non-government institutions and organisations. BUT a less conducive village context: • Few, if any women's groups (for collective action)/spaces in the village and limited diversity/membership beyond the PKK/Posyandu. • Limited involvement of women in village decision making processes and few women in leadership roles. • Few or no Village Regulations that prioritise women or few indicators of women's priorities in village priorities. • Social norms limiting women's role beyond household duties/motherhood. • Limited alignment of women's priority issues with village priorities or the issue transgresses cultural taboos—e.g. addressing domestic violence; social protection; women's sexual and reproductive health.
✘ ✓	*Displayed some indicators of a conducive village context* - some existing, diverse women's groups (for collective action); some village leaders open to the gender inclusion and women's influence; a degree of inclusion of women in decision making processes; and some indicators of women's priorities in village priorities. BUT a less conducive district context: • Little openness among district leadership to gender inclusion and women's empowerment agendas; or give lip service but few investments. • Limited presence/ influence of women's advocacy organisations and champions on the district leadership, policies and processes. • Little variation in, presence and membership of women's groups and organisations across the district beyond the PKK/Posyandu. • Few or no policies that enable gender inclusion, women's empowerment and/or women's priorities. • Few district leaders (government or non-government) open to supporting gender inclusion and significantly involving women in decision making, • Limited alignment of women's priority issues with district priorities or the issue transgresses cultural taboos—e.g. addressing domestic violence; social protection; women's sexual and reproductive health.
Highly difficult contexts **District** **Village** ✘ ✘	• No (or few) policies that enable gender inclusion and/or support women's priorities—at village & district levels. • No (or few) leaders (government or non-government) open to or champions of women's empowerment—at village & district levels. • Few, if any women's groups (for collective action) in villages outside the PKK; limited diversity and membership. • Limited presence/influence of women's advocacy organisations on the district leadership, social leaders, policies and processes. • Limited, if any involvement of women in village decision making processes and few, if any, women in leadership roles. • Limited alignment of women's priority issues with district priorities or the issue transgresses cultural taboos—e.g. addressing domestic violence; social protection; women's sexual and reproductive health.

Further, if we take just one indicator of the degree of conduciveness to gender inclusiveness and women's influence on decision-making in politics, policy and development, the number of women in leadership positions in the research sites, some of which has begun to change in recent years is illuminating. Those research areas considered to be more conducive to change have more women occupying official positions of power in parliaments (such as in North Hulu Sungai District and Gresik District) or occupy one of the top positions such as the District Head position—as is the case in Tanggamus District (see Figure 11). Although causal inference is unclear as to whether context conduciveness has led to more women occupying influential positions, or whether women in these positions have shaped the context so as to support inclusive policies and decision making. The story is more mixed in more difficult contexts, and at the village level—

there are very few women in influential positions across these sites. Things have, however, changed more recently with greater attention to gender disparity in both the Pangkep and North Hulu Sungai research 'intervention' villages, where women have been appointed as village officials.

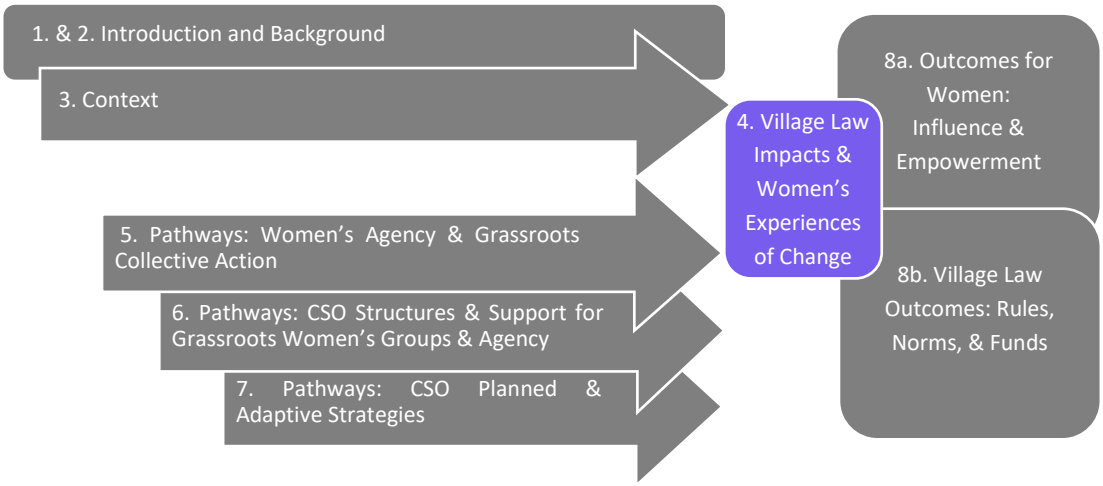
Figure 11: Women Occupying Leadership Positions in Village and District Governments

Context	District Level	Village Level
Conducive contexts	**Tanggamus (Lampung)** • Tanggamus District Head (2018–2023) is female; she is also the wife of previous District Head (2013–2018). • Members of Tanggamus district parliament (DPRD) (2019–2024): 2 of 45 members are women.	**Tanggamus (Lampung)** • 2006–present, the same male Village Head has been in office. • Staff in village government (2015–2019): 2 of 30 are women (i.e. the Section Head of Welfare; one Hamlet Head). • Village Representative Council (BPD): 0 female members.
	North Hulu Sungai (HSU) in South Kalimantan • Members of HSU district parliament (DPRD) (2014–2019): 5 of 30 members are women. • Members of HSU district parliament (DPRD) (2019–2024): 7 of 30 members are women. • District government positions (2019–2024): 221 women holding various positions, echelon II – V levels. • District Office Heads: 6 women of 28 offices; including the wife of the district head leading both the Office of Family Planning (Dinas Keluarga Berencana) and Regional National Crafts Council (Dewan Kerajinan Nasional Daerah or Dekranasda), and a woman leading the Office for Women Empowerment and Child Protection (Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak or DP3A). • No history of a female District Head.	**North Hulu Sungai (HSU) District in South Kalimantan** • Staff in village government: 2 of 6 are women (i.e. the Section Heads of Finance and Services). • Village Representative Council (BPD) (2019–2024): 1 of 6 members is female. • Village-owned enterprise (BUMDes) Head is female; she is also the head of Pekka union both at the district and village levels (year unknown). • No history of a female Village Head.
Moderately difficult contexts	**Gresik (East Java)** • Members of Gresik district parliament (2014–2019): 6 of 50 members are women.	**Gresik (East Java)** • Staff in village government (2019–2025): 1 of 16 is female (i.e. the Section Head of General Administrative Affairs).
	Cirebon District (West Java) • Members of Cirebon district parliament (DPRD) (2014–2019): 1 of 35 members is female. • No history of a female District Head.	**Cirebon District (West Java)** • Staff in village government (2016–2021): 2 of 14 are women (i.e. the Village Secretary who is also an 'Aisyiyah cadre; the Section Head of Finance). • No history of a female Village Head.
	East Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara – NTB) • Members of East Lombok district parliament (period unknown): 2 of 50 members are women. • Despite having policies focusing on gender justice, there is only a minimal representation of women in echelon II or positions similar to head of office level. • No history of a female District Head.	**East Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara – NTB)** • Staff in village government (2012–present): 1 is female. • Village-owned enterprise (BUMDes) head (2018–present) is female. • No history of a female Village Head.
	Central Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara – NTB) • Members of Central Lombok district parliament (2014–2019): 4 of 50 members are women (i.e. representatives from Partai Golkar; Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB); Gerindra; Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)). • 2014 legislative election: 287 of 765 candidates are women.	**Central Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara – NTB)** • Village Representative Council (BPD) (2019–2024): 1 member is female.
Highly Difficult contexts	**North Central Timor - TTU (East Nusa Tenggara - NTT)** • Members of TTU district parliament (2014–2019): 2 of 30 members are women. • The Head of the Office for Empowerment and Protection of Women and Children (DP3A) is a female. • No history of a female District Head.	**North Central Timor - TTU (East Nusa Tenggara- NTT)** • Staff in village government (2013–present): all men • Village Representative Council (BPD) (2019–2024): 2 of 7 members are women. • No history of a female Village Head.
	Pangkajene Islands – Pangkep (South Sulawesi) • Members of Pangkep district parliament (2013–2018): 3 of 35 members are women.	**Pangkep (South Sulawesi) – intervention village** • Staff in village government (before 2016): 3 members are women; these, however, have been replaced because of their affiliations with the political opponent of the current Village Head. • Staff in village government (2016-present): 6 of 11 are women.
	Labuhan Batu (North Sumatra) • No information.	**Labuhan Batu (North Sumatra)** • No information.
	Bangkalan (East Java) • Members of Bangkalan district parliament (2014–2019): 2 of 50 members are women (i.e. representatives of Gerindra). • Members of Bangkalan district parliament (2019–2024): 0 of 50 members is female. • The Head of the Office of Industry and Labour is female. • No history of a female District Head.	**Bangkalan (East Java)** • Staff in village government (2019–2024): 2 of 12 are women (i.e. Hamlet Heads). • Village Representative Council (BPD) (2019–2024): 0 of 1 is female. • No history of a female Village Head.

4.

VILLAGE LAW IMPACTS AND WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF CHANGE

4. Village Law Impacts and Women's Experiences of Change


1. & 2. Introduction and Background
3. Context
5. Pathways: Women's Agency & Grassroots Collective Action
6. Pathways: CSO Structures & Support for Grassroots Women's Groups & Agency
7. Pathways: CSO Planned & Adaptive Strategies
4. Village Law Impacts & Women's Experiences of Change
8a. Outcomes for Women: Influence & Empowerment
8b. Village Law Outcomes: Rules, Norms, & Funds

This section first briefly provides an overview of the impacts of women's collective action and influence on the Village Law in the research villages before returning in later sections to discuss the pathways that led to such impacts and other outcomes. Second, we overview women's core experiences and perceptions of changes in how they view gender dynamics and what their growing voice and influence has meant for them, with a particular focus on the experience of women who are more vulnerable and often marginalised from village development and government decision making. We also explore these journeys through the life histories of a number of women in the research villages who emerged in leadership roles in driving women's collective action in these villages and identify commonalities in their experiences.

For women in rural areas, who are deeply embedded in closely-tied social networks that shape village life, what we might imagine as women's collective action does not necessarily involve more extreme forms of 'collective protest on the streets' to what are often unknown authoritative actors with significant power. Rather, it involves interrelated dimensions of slowly and incrementally having the confidence, skills, and knowledge to exercise voice and agency, individually and ultimately collectively, to influence social norms and village-decisions. As is evident later in this section, this is often undertaken in the face of resistance from intimate friends and family, as well as authoritative actors in villages. These authoritative actors have the power and influence to exclude women from the 'everyday' social, economic and other networks and opportunities on which they rely, often to survive, in many cases in situations of extreme impoverishment.

We show that this was not an easy, linear journey, but rather one in which they often experienced confusion and encountered resistance, threats, and social stigma—within households and the wider community—as their awareness, voice and new experiences grew. We return in later sections to a more systematic analysis of the growth in skills, capacity, networks and knowledge that women detailed across the research sites from their growing participation in women's groups that specifically had an empowerment goal and how they engaged with different forms of collective action. Throughout the discussion, we also provide illustrative examples of women's life histories and case studies of change in the research sites in terms of growing women's collective action and influence on the implementation of the Village Law. Figure 12 shows the key content in this section.

Figure 12: Structure and Key Content of Section 4

4.1. Women's Influence on the Implementation of the Village Law
Influencing village governance
4.2. Women's Experiences and Perceptions of Change
Awareness
Stigma and opposition
Fear and threats
Overcoming fears, growing confidence
4.3. Village Women Leading and Driving Collective Action
Interconnected forms of collective action driven by village women
Taking on leadership roles and drawing on social capital
Personal benefits of group membership
Development benefits
Challenges ahead

4.1 Women's influence on village governance and the implementation of the Village Law: Key impacts

In contrast to the findings from the Sentinel Villages study (Syukri et al., 2017, 2018; Dharmawan et al., 2018) that showed general trends of women's limited influence on Village Law implementation in Indonesia, in each of the research 'intervention' sites for this study (places where CSOs had sought to support village women to improve their wellbeing and to exercise voice and influence), women had discernible influence on the Law's implementation through collective action that involved women's groups and wider networks. Many of the research sites were selected as examples of positive deviance—being that women might have had influence on the implementation of the Village Law—to explore *how* such influence happens. Analysis presented in Table 2 indicates that women can and do have influence on village development and governance, with later sections investigating the pathways by which such influence occurs.

Such women's influence occurred in all three types of contexts, including those contexts that were most difficult and resistant to women having a role in public life and village development decision making, although such impacts were at a smaller scale in the most difficult contexts. Across the research 'intervention' sites, impacts were evident in changes to District and Village Regulations, allocations of the Village Fund, and in some cases there were changes in social norms, albeit slowly and incrementally. In the two 'control' research villages (no CSO interventions), there were few examples of similar outcomes.

Table 2 and the case study excerpts provided throughout this report also show that with women's influence on the implementation of the Village Law, there was significant diversity in the kinds of village development initiatives implemented. When the Law was enacted in 2014, the responsible Ministries, particularly the Ministry of Villages, provided central guidance on what to prioritise in village development. Early guidance on Village Fund priorities was strongly focused on village infrastructure (e.g. small roads, markets, small bridges) and water reservoirs, as well as economic development, such as developing village-owned enterprises (BUMDes) and village flagship products. While the range of priorities was extended in later years[11], in

[11] By 2018, village sports facilities, Early Childhood Education facilities (PAUD), and maternal health facilities (e.g. Polindes and Posyandu), and responding to/preparedness for disasters were also included in central guidance on priorities.

practice, based on both the central guidance on priorities and on the influence from community development programs that preceded the Law, most often villages have continued to focus on infrastructure and economic development (see also Dharmawan et al., 2018; Syukri et al., 2017).

Yet, in places where women have had at least some influence on village development priority setting, the range of initiatives introduced by women that have been supported and often funded villages, have included but gone beyond infrastructure and economic development. This has ranged from nutritional gardens, reproductive health services, and support for different trainings and skills development in the Cirebon research village, to village ambulances and safe houses for protection from violence against women (in particular domestic violence) in the East Lombok research village, and village support for Women's Care Posts in the Labuhan Batu research village. Women have advocated for access to clean water, sanitation facilities, and solar-powered electricity in the small islands in the Pangkajene and Islands District (Pangkep), as well as for the broader recognition of fisherwomen so they can access government-funded fishing equipment. Women's initiatives also include support for citizen documentation and the certification of religious marriages so that they are also recognised by the state in Bangkalan, recognition and support for informal sector workers such as homeworkers in both Bantul and Deli Serdang, to paralegal services for women who have experienced domestic violence in North Central Timor (TTU) research village. In the Gresik research village in East Java and in the Pangkep research village in South Sulawesi, the Village Fund has been allocated to support a range of initiatives introduced by Women's School (Sekolah Perempuan) groups.

In the Tanggamus research village, a cross-group collective movement concerned with sexual and reproductive health rights established a service post that serves as a safe space for women to report cases of domestic violence and to access services. This was formalised through a Village Head decision letter, paving the way for an allocation from the Village Fund to sustain the post's activities. In Central Lombok, the Village Fund has been used to support one-stop service provision centres that help migrant workers to access and follow legal administrative processes to work overseas, but also monitor their welfare while overseas, and provide training and support for migrants and their families on return to both utilise remittances for sustained livelihoods and to integrate back into communities. In some places, infrastructure and economic development have also been prioritised, including for example facilities for Early Childhood Education and Integrated Health Posts, and the development of village enterprises that support livelihoods, both for women and for the broader community. In the North Hulu Sungai village, for example, women have spurred the development of new village-owned enterprises to diversify livelihood options.

The diversity of initiatives that village women have introduced or expanded under the Village Law captured in the study, in part, but do not wholly reflect the sectoral focus of the CSOs that have supported these women. As we can see from the examples above, in many cases, the five sectors that are of particular concern to the 15 organisations involved in the study also emerge in the kinds of initiatives for which village women have advocated for village support. That is not to say these CSOs necessarily 'introduced' these issues to village women, as in most cases women in the research villages were encountering significant challenges in relation to these issues before CSOs provided (further) support to these village women. Indeed, at the onset many of these CSOs worked closely with village women and other actors to identify the core challenges that women encountered in specific localities (see Section 7).

For example, advocating for village support for social protection initiatives is a key theme evident in four of the research areas where organisations such as PEKKA (The Female-Headed Families Empowerment Foundation) as well as Institut KAPAL Perempuan (The Institute for Women's Alternative Education) and its

subnational partners have focused support for village women: in the Bangkalan and Gresik research villages in East Java Province, in the Pangkep research village in South Sulawesi Province, and in the North Hulu Sungai research village in South Kalimantan Province. As mentioned in Section 3, many migrant workers from Central Lombok District in West Nusa Tenggara Province undertake overseas migrant work in countries such as Malaysia and countries in the Middle East. It is unsurprising then that village-level and district-level assistance for migrant workers and their families has been a key focus of advocacy and collective action of villagers, with the support of Migrant CARE.

However, especially over time, the village development priorities and demands from women have gone beyond these sectoral issues. The case studies illustrate (see Savirani et al., 2020) that as women have become more accustomed to lobbying for their priorities to be accommodated in village development, the types of village development outcomes under the Village Law have diversified, covering village economic *and* social policies and projects, as well support for training, skills development and information dissemination, service delivery and a range of other initiatives. To institute these changes, in many cases women have also initiated and led new multi-stakeholder forums, task forces, and other mechanisms to tackle particular issues, and garnered the support of other stakeholders for their initiatives and to participate in these forums.

Table 2: Women's Influence on Governance and Village Law Impacts

Research village	District and Village Governance and Village Law Impacts
Moderately Conducive Contexts	
1. Tanggamus (Lampung)	• New District Regulations concerned with reducing gender-based violence, and support for women and child survivors of domestic violence. • Wider gender awareness in the research village. • Establishment of a village Taskforce and a Post for the Empowerment and Protection of Women, Children and Families. • Village Head Decision recognising the Taskforce and Post. • Village Fund allocation to support the Taskforce and Post. • Better access to the district-level integrated service unit for victims of domestic and other forms of gender-based violence.
2. Bantul (Yogyakarta near Central Java)	• Women's Homeworkers Union established and registered/recognised by the district and provincial governments. • Village Head Decision (SK) recognising the rights of female homeworkers and recognising the Homeworkers Union as an established village group invited to village decision-making and planning meetings. • Village Fund allocation to the women's Homeworker Union for activities. • New/revised district and provincial regulations recognising and protecting homeworkers.
3. North Hulu Sungai (Kalimantan)	• Improved citizen legibility, leading to increased access to government services for the poor through KLIK. • Village Regulation on a new-welfare based BUMDes (village-owned enterprise) proposed and led by women. • Fisheries BUMDes involving men and women established and provided a Village Fund allocation. • Village Head Decision recognising and mandating women's participation in MusDes and development planning meetings, particularly the newly established women's groups in the village. • New and revised District Regulations are more gender inclusive.
Moderately Difficult Contexts	
4. Gresik (East Java), and North Lombok (NTB)	• Village Fund allocation for the Women's School group. • Changes to Village Regulations to provide Village Fund allocations to Women's Schools. • Increased involvement of women in MusDes, the Musrenbangdes and district decision making forums. • Replication of Women's Schools with funding from districts. • New District Regulations that prohibit child marriage and establish a Special Women's Musrenbang in the district.
5. Cirebon (West Java)	• New Village Regulation on Women's Reproductive Health, and new District/Subdistrict Regulations (on priority issues for women). • Village Fund allocation for activities proposed by women. • Changed times of MusDes (village decision making forum) so more women could attend. • Increased involvement of women in MusDes and proposals from women put forward in MusDes. • Improved village-level health services and a nutrition 'garden' • Slowly changing community knowledge of women's reproductive health.
6. East Lombok (NTB)	• New Village Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children. • Village recognition of the Constituent Group that conveys concerns of women and children to the village government. • Village Fund allocations to support activities within the framework of the new Village Regulation. • Former Constituent Group head (male) elected as Village Head. • Increased inclusion of women in village and district decision making forums. • Activities funded that support/proposed by village women - domestic violence victim safe house, village ambulance etc. • Slowly changing norms on intimate partner violence.

Research village	District and Village Governance and Village Law Impacts
7. Pangkep—control village, South Sulawesi	• Prior female Village Head, but little evidence of women's influence on village governance and the implementation of the Village Law. No priority Village Fund allocation for women's initiatives or self-determined needs and no Village Regulations related to these priorities or concerns. • Few women attend MusDes (only the representatives of state-corporatist organisations).
8. Central Lombok (NTB)	• New Village/District Regulations on the Protection of Overseas Indonesian Migrant Workers from Villages in Central Lombok. • New migrant worker integrated service centre at village and district levels. • Village Fund allocation for the village integrated service unit to support migrant workers. • Some increased involvement of women in MusDes. • Slowly changing social norms on child marriage.
9. Deli Serdang (North Sumatra)	• Homeworkers Union established and recognised by government at different levels in the region. • Inclusion of homeworkers on the list of recipients for free healthcare through the National Health Care schemes (BPJS). • Homeworkers gained membership of the village Posyandu and can also now access other social protection programs. • Recognition of homeworkers in District Head's Integrated Referral Service System regulation (Sistem Layanan Rujukan Terpadu - SLRT), which gives them access to other social protection programs, including National Health Care schemes (BPJS).
Highly Difficult Contexts	
10. Pangkep 'intervention' village (South Sulawesi)	• Initial Village Fund access for the Women's School groups established in the village. • Increased involvement of women in district decision making forums and, initially, in MusDes. • Support and funds for the development of basic facilities—clean water, sanitation facilities, and solar-powered electricity. • Government recognition of fisherwomen. • Replication of Women's Schools in other villages with funding from districts. • New District Regulations on women's empowerment and gender inclusion.
11. North Central Timor—TTU (NTT)	• New (draft) Village Regulation providing protections for women and children who experience domestic violence and outlining case handling/resolution processes. • Several new District Regulations on protections for women and children. • Some deterrents for domestic violence and access to paralegal services for victims of domestic violence. • Slowly changing practices in customary dispute resolution that are more responsive to women's needs.
12. Labuhan Batu (North Sumatra)	• New Village Regulation on the Implementation of Protection for Women and Child Victims of Violence. • Established Women's Care Posts. • Established a multi-stakeholder Community-Based Service (LBK) Forum for addressing violence against women and children. The Forum involves the village women's independent union, village government and BPD representatives, community leaders and representatives from other community groups. • Potential allocation from the Village Fund (ratified but not yet released). • Slowly changing community understandings of gender-based and domestic violence.
13. Bangkalan (Madura, East Java)	• New Village Regulation on Marriage Verification (proposed by village women). • Village budget (APBDes) allocation to support services such as marriage verification. • Improved citizen legibility, leading to increased access to government services for the poor through KLIK. • Slowly changing social norms on child marriage.
14. Gresik—control site (East Java)	• Little evidence of women influencing village governance. Few women involved in decision-making (only the PKK represented at MusDes). No Village Regulations focused on women's priorities. One example in 6 years of an infrastructure project to construct an Early Childhood Education Centre (PAUD) building advocated by the PKK through ties to the Village Head.

In some places, these changes were incremental and just beginning, particularly on difficult issues associated with changing social norms. Supporting the development of Village Regulations with budget allocations from the Village Fund constitutes a first and important step for encouraging change; even getting to this stage in many cases has taken several years to bring about. However, changing attitudes and behaviours in places unaccustomed to gender-inclusive village development and structures of power is a slow process to garner support, requiring sufficient time for changes to take hold. Nonetheless, as we see from the two stories of change below, change is possible and ongoing in some of the places that the study found to be highly difficult contexts for gender inclusion and women's empowerment.

For example, the story below outlines how change happens in very difficult contexts such as Bangkalan, with women's collective action being an important part of this process. Members of the women's groups known as Pekka groups or unions—predominantly for widows and other female family heads—have slowly widened the space for women to have some influence in the village (and this process is ongoing) and have certainly enhanced access to legal documents so that the poorest members of the community, particularly female-headed families have greater legibility in the eyes of the state and able to use these documents to access services. Moreover, in the research village in Bangkalan, women's actions, with the support of PEKKA

community organisers, led to a new Village Regulation and Village Fund allocation that supports women's needs. In the case study, we do not outline all the processes and strategies that resulted in this outcome, as many of these will be discussed in subsequent sections. However, we do illustrate how important these changes have been for village women. They now are legible citizens able to access social protection programs, notably basic health services, education for their children, and the Program Keluarga Harapan (Family Hope Program), which provides assistance for children and elderly family members.

Box 15: A Story of Change in Bangkalan—Women Driving Change in Citizen Legibility and Service Access

The Bangkalan District is characterised by strong Islamic values, Madurese traditional norms, and governance structures that are often dominated by the same families and male leaders down to the village level. These social and religious norms tend to restrict women's aspirations:

"Here people tend to [think], if you go to university, where are you going [in life]? Girls are definitely intended for 'the kitchen'." Mita, Bangkalan research village, 20 February 2019.

The high prevalence of informal and child marriage in the Bangkalan research village also leaves many women without official documentation. This is partly the result of the village being located far from government services that verify and provide official documentation, but also because people are often too poor to afford to both travel to and pay the administrative fees for these services. This is problematic as marriage certificates can often be a prerequisite for obtaining other population documents (i.e. birth certificates) that are crucial for accessing social protection services and for enrolling children in school. To obtain such documents, women often pay significant sums of money, as was experienced by Yuli:

"She was embarrassed to talk to the Village Head, but she walked to the house of… the Village Head's younger brother who was the Village Secretary. The Secretary asked [the Village Head] for help… Finally she got a birth certificate for her child, for 300,000 Rupiah." Ati (assisting Yuli), Pekka cadre, 26 February 2019.

With the support of PEKKA community organisers, village women established a Pekka union group for women who are the heads of families. Because of the social hierarchies in Bangkalan, when PEKKA (the Female-Headed Families Empowerment Foundation) entered the research village in 2015 with the aim of supporting female-headed families, it used participatory data mapping with village women on core women's issues in the village. PEKKA also consulted key village leaders in order to obtain support for activities, a process which in and of itself took some time and involved using their prior social networks with several village elites to gain access to the village.

Two village women were instrumental in encouraging others to join the Pekka union (the community-based group of female heads of families), Ati and her niece Mita, who had family ties to an influential community figure in the hamlet who himself had the trust of the village government. These women actively organised group meetings and slowly encouraged increasing numbers of women to attend. These meetings were strategically held in conjunction with existing women's activities, such as Qur'an recital meetings (*pengajian*) that were already an important part of village life.

At group meetings, PEKKA and Pekka union group cadres provided information on the importance of identity documents and sought to share information and build knowledge to address gender equality using examples based on everyday interactions in the village. During these sessions, group members were given the opportunity to express their opinions and to practice speaking up in the forum. One Pekka union member explained how her gender awareness grew over time:

"[At first] I did not understand what PEKKA was, but I was always visited by Ms. Fat [the PEKKA leader at the subdistrict level]. Every time there was a meeting, she visited. Then in the end I understood that there was a monthly meeting [I could go to]…My understanding continued to expand; I understand now." Ati, Pekka Cadre, 20 February 2019.

PEKKA also encouraged local women to participate in their Paradigta Academy (Akademi Paradigta), which aims to prepare women to take a direct role in governance. In 2015, two women from the village were involved in program:

Nurul and Idah, who became the lead cadres in the village and were trained to assist in the processing of marriages and marriage verification.

For four years village women through the Pekka union advocated on the importance of social rights and documentation in the village. Together with PEKKA community organisers, they first convinced the village government, including the Village Head—who was initially resistant to village women forming groups outside of prayer groups—to support efforts to hold a PEKKA Information and Consultation Service and Clinic (KLIK). Thus, in 2016, Nurul and Idah helped establish the KLIK. Staffed by members of village women's groups, KLIK assisted residents to obtain administrative documents whilst increasing community awareness of the importance of such documents. The clinic highlighted the demand for marriage certificates. Based on this information, PEKKA asked the Village Head to prioritise disadvantaged villagers to trial a process for verifying and registering religious marriages in the village.

"After the KLIK we held a village discussion, because it was to follow up on the results of the data…. So there were community leaders, religious leaders, a number of [Pekka] cadres and several community members, with the Village Head and the Hamlet Head there." Idah, Chair of the Bangkalan District Branch of PEKKA, 25 February 2019.

After the trial, the village government realised that marriage registration was beneficial for many villagers, including village leaders—some of whom did not have verified or registered marriages. Village women in the Pekka union also successfully encouraged the village government to issue the 2017 Village Regulation on Marriage Verification (*Isbat Nikah*). This regulation provided for marriage verification to take place in the village and to be funded through the Village Fund. PEKKA staff supported the Pekka union and the village government to formulate the content of the regulation.

"The program began two years ago and ran in 2017 and 2018. Now it is open for registration again, and not just for this village, but all the villages in this subdistrict can ask to hold [marriage verification] sessions here. The initial solution came from the Pekka union and now it's not only for this village." H. Joni, Village Head, 20 February.

The regulation, which is the result of collective action on the part of women in the Pekka union and others with whom they built networks and garnered support, has significantly reduced the costs of processing identity documents, with marriage certificates being issued for free.

Similarly, change has been slow and incremental in North Central Timor in Eastern Indonesia where the problem of domestic violence is of deep concern to women across the district. The case study of a Story of Change below illustrates these challenges and the ways that interventions are supporting change both in the regulatory frameworks, but also, and much more slowly in education, awareness raising, and approaches to tackling cases of domestic violence, as well as changing social norms.

Box 16: A Story of Change in North Central Timor—Advancing Protections for Women and Children from Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is the most widespread form of violence against women in Indonesia. In a 2017 study, the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan) found that 71% of cases of violence against women occur in their own households (Komnas Perempuan, 2017). The taboo nature of domestic violence also means that available data does not capture the true prevalence and severity of violence.

"Women rarely want to speak about domestic violence. For them it isn't right to speak about family issues to other people. Because of this, if there is a case of violence, women only feel comfortable to tell those closest to them. Even then people do not want to get involved in their problems; we only offer reinforcement to them." Veronika, Head of the Fauana Women Farmers Group, TTU research village, 30 June 2019.

However, in the research village in North Central Timor District in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), women's collective action has led to the establishment of a number of mechanisms to report cases of domestic violence and provide support to victims of violence. This research village has limited resources and underdeveloped infrastructure, which affects residents' quality of life. The social and cultural structure of the village is deeply rooted in the history of its foundation

and founding families. This means homogeneity of leaders and family ties are key elements of power and influence. The village is thus oriented toward the rights of older men, or patriarchs, both in terms of inheritance and lineage, as well as the unequal status and influence of men and women. This, many villagers argue, has contributed to a normalisation of violence against women and children in the village. Moreover, the strong influence of customary systems and practices in the research village also restricts the ability of people experiencing such violence to report cases and access services.

The Village Women's Care Foundation (YABIKU), in partnership with the Forum for Service Providers (FPL), seeks to support village women by working with existing village women's groups to broaden perspectives on gender by holding activities and increasing the number and diversity of members. It also aims to bridge gaps in domestic violence services and advocate for violence prevention at the village and district levels. Broader advocacy efforts have been led by YABIKU's founder, Yohana, an activist who has worked in anti-violence support programs since 1999. Yohana's election to the regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) with the intention of creating more pro-women policies spearheaded YABIKU's advocacy for institutional changes at the district level, including the formulation and ratification of two district policies: the District Regulation on the Implementation of Women's Protection (District Regulation No. 14/2016) and the District Regulation on the Implementation of Child Protection (District Regulation No. 15/2017).

Village women in the Women's Farmer Groups (Kelompok Wanita Tani, KWT) have sought to expand their activities and members to gain a broader understanding of gender and to support women experiencing domestic violence. With the support of YABIKU, village women also formed a paralegal group in the research village and have initiated a draft Village Regulation to provide protection for women and children experiencing domestic and other gender-based violence. The draft regulation also aims to change customary dispute resolution practices for reported cases of such violence as these practices have tended to favour men.

These grassroots and district-level advocacy efforts have created several changes in the research village. The two District Regulations have succeeded in changing and reducing the use of customary dispute resolution practices that tend to marginalise the rights of women victims of violence. The regulations also recognise YABIKU's village paralegal groups, giving them greater legitimacy in their support and advice to women. In addition, the regulations have become a legal reference point for those experiencing domestic violence and has enabled them to access legal and healthcare services.

"I was proud after I joined the paralegal group because when there is a case that really needs to be resolved, [we work] with the police and we resolve it completely." Veronika, Head of the Fauana Women Farmers Group, 11 June 2019.

While some in the village have expressed that the draft Village Regulation is no longer necessary given the District Regulations have already passed (advocacy continues), other positive changes have also resulted. First, there is growing awareness among village women about the importance of gender justice and gender equality. Second, the District Regulation and paralegal groups have been a deterrent for perpetrators of violence. Third, women in the village have started to participate more in the public sphere, such as in village politics and by influencing priorities.

"I made a proposal. I said that the Village Head's Wife runs the Family Welfare and Empowerment organisation [PKK], but she takes the money for it and doesn't give funds for information or women's activities. She never said that the PKK money was for women's activities. I asked her about this and also told her that our village had a water problem when we made a horticultural business." (Tessa, TTU research village, 1 July 2019).

Finally, village women have greater capacity to organise and have developed new livelihood skills giving them greater independence and power to reform repressive norms within households.

4.2 Women's experiences of change and growing voice and influence

Throughout the research we encountered all variety of women in the research villages who were beginning the process of undertaking, or already participating in, different forms of collective action to exercise women's voice and influence in villages. Some of these women who were active in the research villages may have already been on a journey to eventually exercise such influence, having the potential to take on

leadership and organising roles to facilitate women's collective action. For these women, external support helped boost their confidence and aspirations to do so and provided strategies to overcome emerging obstacles. For other women, such a pathway was unimaginable as they had few experiences of being involved in governance and decision making or exercising their voices, but nonetheless they too engaged in individual and collective action.

In the following sections we highlight, in the research participants own words, common examples of their journeys of and reactions to change and growing their agency through first encounters with, or increased participation in, women's groups, networks, and activities and in broader influential forums. Women often expressed their views and experiences in terms such as 'we' rather than 'I', indicating that their journeys were as much a collective process as they were an individual one. Similar experiences to those discussed explicitly below were recounted across the field sites, providing some indication of what women's experiences might be like for other women who embark on this journey elsewhere in the future. We return to further analysis on patterns in these experiences in Section 5.

The discussion illustrates the ways that village women generally underwent a journey of surprise, often followed by confusion, as they gained and shared new information with others and/or began to be more active in expressing their views publicly. Many times, women across the research sites encountered resistance from family members, the broader community and influential leaders. Awareness of and increased participation in women's groups and networks in some cases resulted in efforts to stigmatise these women for challenging social norms around gender roles and obligations (i.e. women's roles in the home and the expectation to prioritise their husbands), particularly if these women sought to exercise voice and influence outside the home. In some cases, resistance was mitigated by broader community learning about gender.

Unsurprisingly, women were often fearful of venturing into these new experiences. In some field sites, there were repeated instances of threats and intimidation towards village women for seeking to change the 'order of things'. Yet, many persevered, finding courage and determination to continue on their journey, even when they encountered pitfalls and setbacks. This journey is by no means over.

Awareness: A journey of surprise, confusion, resistance and change

As women grew their knowledge, gender awareness, and connections with other women through participating in collective forums, often they had experiences of surprise, followed by confusion, and sometimes, in their words, an 'awakening'. In sharing the new information gained through participation in women's groups with their friends and family, many women encountered resistance and counter narratives from families and friends. For some women, this strengthened their sense of commitment and resolve, but for others such challenges were overwhelming.

For Lasinem in the Gresik research 'intervention' village, the journey in building her gender awareness was profound. Through her participation in the Women's School group she gained all manner of new information, which was different and 'contradicted what she had learned from her parents and understood to be her role since she was a child'. She explained how:

> *"My friends came home from the first phase of training…[and I thought to myself] Gosh, my friends were happy to attend that… So I asked my friends 'So you went. Tell me about it'…[They said] You keep learning, keep reading books… It made me curious. In the end, I went to the second training. I came home from the training in a daze. The issue is, the material on sex and gender raised questions for me. Previously, I had learned at school and from*

my parents that you can't question your husband, you have to be obedient, your husband is like a god [she laughs]. You can't argue, you can't tell anyone about disgraceful things he does, that's just not allowed, even though our husbands can do as they like…

And then, at the Women's School there was this information about sex and gender… I was confused. Which one was right? [I asked myself] How can little kids understand rights, understand human rights? What about my rights? So it turns out all this time I didn't really know what my rights actually were. I didn't know... I was not told….

And then I started to ask questions. Why doesn't my husband sweep? Why do I always cook? Sweeping doesn't have a sex. For instance, if my husband holds a broom, can the broom get pregnant? Does it have a vagina? I was thinking like that, even though if you really think about it, women do more work than men and the work takes a lot of energy and time." Lasinem, Gresik research 'intervention' village, 20 February 2019.

Similar experiences were recalled by women who participated in education classes held in Tanggamus by DAMAR—the organisation concerned about violence against women that was discussed in Section 3. Women told of their 'awakening', how they encountered resistance and alternative narratives when they shared the information with their families, but also how efforts at information sharing with the broader community, slowly and incrementally over time, helped mitigate resistance through communal learning. One teenage girl who participated in the class explained both her family's resistance and then their own learning:

"Before DAMAR arrived, they didn't know what gender was. After DAMAR's classes started, we started to understand what gender is and about gender equality, men and women, men's and women's roles and rights. But sometimes, after I told my family about this new knowledge I had gained, they said 'oh no, it's not like that', and they said that men and women really are naturally [different]. This changed after the classes for fathers and then mothers started, they started to understand that these are just men's and women's 'tasks' [not natural differences]. Then, after a while we applied this new understanding in my family." Participant in Youth Class (Kelas Remaja Putri), Tanggamus research village, 9 July 2019.

Change in the Tanggamus research village where DAMAR supported these classes had indeed begun to occur, although this did not happen overnight. One woman, who was the chairperson of the village PKK (See Section 5) explained that not only had the Village Head supported awareness raising, but that change had begun to become entrenched:

"Even if in the future DAMAR stops being active in the village and the Village Head is no longer in office, I am sure that the community, particularly women, will continue to demand their rights from the village government. They will because of the education they have received. The Village Head and DAMAR led a long process and there are people in the village who are strongly committed." Head of Guidance to PKK, Tanggamus research village, 8 October 2019.

Stigma and opposition: Social norms on gender roles and obligations

Women described how participating in group activities outside the household directly and indirectly rubbed up against social norms and deeply held views on women's roles and obligations, predominantly as housewives—views often held by partners, but also the village leadership and broader community. Joining women's or other mixed-gender groups, participating in group activities and more broadly in public life was often counter to norms of 'a women's place being in the home'. This was not always the case everywhere, and certainly social attitudes around gender roles were changing faster in some places compared with others. However, across all field sites, women had to navigate household dynamics, the deliberate spread of

rumour that sought to damage their reputation, threats, and all manner of challenges to even leave their homes to participate in women's group or other group activities and forums.

For example, in the Gresik research 'intervention' village there was, at least initially, a strong negative stigma associated with women venturing outside the home for something other than socially-sanctioned activities related to the running of the household, income generation (if approved by their husbands) or religious commitments. Activities held by the new Women's School group mentioned above certainly encountered such stigma—if they participated in these activities or did something new such as attend a forum at a hotel organised by the Women's School, they were labelled as 'that "type" of woman' or what might be loosely translated as 'women of ill repute' ('*perempuan nggak bener*'). Lastri explains:

> *"Previously, I was tainted with that brush. If we went to the [activities held by the] Women's School outside the village, like in a hotel, we were deemed to be 'perempuan nggak bener'. People labelled us like that so as to discourage [women from] attending the School."* Gresik research 'intervention' village, 22 February 2019.

Rumours were spread, often by men about group activities, to tarnish the reputation of particular women's groups and the members involved. Lasinem certainly encountered this:

> *"[My friend's husband] told the neighbours that the Women's School taught women to challenge their husbands. So, [many in the community] held that perception [of the School] and people [who participated in it], and this was blamed on Mbak Indah [the Women's School leader]. When Mbak Indah tried to invite people to join the School, she told me that one of my friends who was invited to join the school told her husband, 'Mas, I am going to join the Women's School.' [He responded] 'Don't go to the School like Lasinem does. The School taught Lasinem to challenge her husband*'." Lasinem, Gresik research 'intervention' village, 19 February 2019.

Even for those women who gained support for participation from their husbands, this permission often came with certain caveats that sought to minimise disruption to gender roles and status quo gender relations in the household. In the Cirebon research village, for example, where women are not really 'allowed out' after dark 'for their own safety', some women gained a degree of support from their partners to participate in 'Aisyiyah's women's groups known as the Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA), as long as their participation did not entirely disrupt household norms and roles. One man, in describing his support for his wife, was sure to emphasise that men were the head of the household and women had certain duties:

> *"Since the activities are positive and beneficial, we men, as the heads of families, really support and agree with them, as long as these activities don't go against what is natural for women [kodrat wanita] and that women do not abandon their obligations as women: to be devoted to their husbands above all else. For example, meetings are often held when husbands come home from work. I come home at 3pm and my wife must be at home. So, if the meeting goes over time, that's when… [problems] tend to happen. As long as the activities are positive and beneficial for her individually, for the family and for the community, then I really support them."* Suripto, Cirebon research village, 6 March 2019.

Gaining 'permission' from intimate partners to participate in women's groups was particularly challenging in situations where women's group activities might be focused on knowledge of rights and seeking to change attitudes in relation to gender roles, or mitigating forms of gender-based violence and holding perpetrators accountable. Such issues are often not spoken of and community responses were complex and even resistant, particularly when issues touch on cultural taboos. As Husnul from East Lombok explains, sometimes these issues led women to self-censor:

"No one tells anyone else. If we tell people about [the violence we experience] and then we get divorced, people will feel bad for the husbands. No one talks about it with anyone else." Husnul, Constituent Group member and Posyandu cadre, East Lombok research village, 15 July 2019.

Fear and threats: Backup for women in attending village decision-making forums

Many village women found the experience of beginning to speak up, participate in decision-making forums and taking on leadership roles to be overwhelming and even frightening, particularly when such participation challenged gendered norms on whether women should be involved in such forums and have the right to speak up. These concerns were heightened when it came to women standing up in meetings, putting forward proposals and trying to affect change in village development. Alya explains these concerns:

"It was hard. We didn't [initially] have the courage. Before, for instance, I was scared of talking, scared of officials, scared of saying something wrong, scared of the police. I was scared that even if we only slightly misspoke, the police would come, the police would be called, even if what was said was true." Alya, Pangkep research 'intervention' village, 2 March 2019.

In some cases, village women faced threats (as did CSO staff) and fierce resistance from village communities or from those more accustomed to dominating village decision-making forums (see also Box 17) as they became more vocal in such forums and other public domains, or when they participated in community organising and group activities. Under such conditions, in many places, women explained that they were only comfortable attending village meetings and making proposals, especially initially, if they were accompanied by CSO staff, community organisers, field workers or other people they trusted. This was particularly the case in research areas identified to be highly difficult contexts.

Even Hatini, a village cadre of 'Aisyiyah, who had become accustomed to sharing her views after significant support and training, explained her concerns about putting forward a women's proposal for a project to the District Office of Agriculture:

"How can I describe it? I was really scared, [of how the staff member/ official] from the Agricultural Office would respond. I was scared there would be a problem or something like that. Because I was worried [that they would say] that's not a proposal for me, but for the village [government]. I was scared that it was in the wrong place [to make the proposal.] My fear was that they would say, that's not our [responsibility], don't propose that here. That was my fear." Hatini, Cirebon research village, 2 March 2019.

Attitudes towards women's groups and the efforts they undertook to influence change, did, however, shift over time in some cases, particularly when education and information on gender was shared with the wider community. In the Labuhan Batu research village, where significant challenges for women of domestic violence are evident, the views towards being associated with the village's Independent Women's Union group changed over time.

"Whereas initially the SPI [Serikat Perempuan Independen—Independent Women's Union] was often seen as an organisation that 'made women ask for divorces', now it is known as an organisation that 'defends women'. The connotations associated with this organisation have changed. Before many people in the village said that SPI was a 'divorce broker', but now it is more commonly referred to like, 'be careful fighting with your wife, for you can be reported to SPI'." FGD participant, Labuhan Batu research village, October 2019.

Overcoming fears, growing confidence: Perseverance, persuasion, and courage

Despite the challenges, women persevered. They found comfort in their fellow group members and newly formed networks and continued to convince other women on the benefits of participating in activities. For example, in the North Hulu Sungai research village, Aminah was adept at persuading other women to join Pekka group activities, despite being mocked by some women. She was held in great esteem by new members because of her ability to write and do arithmetic. She would "encourage other women to join, explaining the benefits, such as savings and loans opportunities or skills training". She would pay for the food for group meetings, and this was of benefit in a village where people could not always afford regular meals.

In the Pangkep research 'intervention' village, women found that increased skills, knowledge and the support of the Women's School group gave them new confidence and courage to overcome fears and community resistance to women's participation in decision-making forums. This was in a situation where people live on geographically small islands (one village hamlet on each island, with multiple islands making up a village) and tight-knit communities in which everyone knows everyone else. Moreover, leaving the islands is both difficult—boat is the only option—and expensive (approximately IDR50,000 or AUD5 for a single journey, which for many is can be as much as three days wages). For Laila, who was eventually selected by fellow group members as the leader of the Women's School group, participating in and leading this group was a profound change:

> *"[Previously] I was scared to talk to the Village Head, even to the Hamlet Head. [I thought] if I spoke, I would be blamed and make them angry. That was my fear. I was scared."*
>
> *Before the Women's School, I wasn't confident. If I went out of my house and saw someone wearing an official uniform walking on the pier, I hid. I was scared, scared to say something, scared to be wrong. After one year of participating in the Women's School, my courage emerged. I realised that I have a place here, I have rights here. I already knew that I had rights here, but I didn't fully comprehend who should fulfil my rights, who would we talk to about our rights?… Before, I didn't have the courage at all to speak in front of men, I wasn't confident, I didn't have the courage. But since I became a member of the Women's School, thank God, we have made ourselves confident to convey what we think."* Laila, Pangkep research 'intervention' village, 25 February 2019.

Women in some cases needed the encouragement of supporting CSOs, and while initially reluctant to start participating in wider forums, they started to take the initiative the more their confidence grew:

> *"[You know,] then it was me too [that had opinions], not just my husband who had opinions…I even went as far as asking my friends opinions at the factory. I was asked to go to other people's houses. I was asked to join gatherings at the Village Hall, and on it went. Then I would think: 'shall I go or not? There's no need to attend, yeah?'. So, I decided not to go. Then KPS2K kept calling me and asking, 'Are you coming or not?'. Okay [I thought], I felt in my heart that I will just go. I wondered about what we would do there but thought I would wait and see at the meeting. At the meeting we met with village officials and I had never done that before. We gathered together at the meeting and talked and got permission from the Village Head [for specific proposals]."* Lastri, Gresik research 'intervention' village, 22 February 2019.

In the excerpt below from Julianti's (known as Juli) life story from the Pangkep research 'intervention' village we see a journey of gaining the confidence to speak up with new knowledge, skills and support from the women's group in which she became a participant after hearing about it from her sister. While Juli had a role model in her grandfather (who was a former Hamlet Head) that inspired her to forge forward, her family ties

had not seen her participate in village decision-making meetings prior to joining the women's group. As her knowledge, confidence and networks grew, she went on take up a leadership role as the head of the Women's School group and also more widely in mobilising support for different causes and leading collective action.

But Juli encountered household tensions and threats from authoritative figures, and setbacks over time. Juli faced those challenges with fierce resistance and perseverance and commitment to better governance. Ultimately, over time, Juli increasingly exercised her voice, and together with other Women's School group members, had influence over village decision making through a range of actions: informally and consistently lobbying the Village Head, participating in MusDes (in which they hadn't participated in the past), and, among others, putting forward proposals. When a new Village Head was elected who sought to exclude Juli and her friends from MusDes and Musrenbangdes, and to block funding for the Women's School, they used other strategies to overcome this—they just turned up at decision-making meetings uninvited and even using more discursive forms of protest to shame him for his actions.

Box 17: A History of Julianti: Perseverance in the Face of Resistance.

Twenty-four-year-old Julianti is one of the leaders of the Women's School group on her home island in Pangkep. After completing primary school, Juli's parents were initially reluctant to allow her to continue her schooling on a neighbouring island, but eventually agreed, and Juli was able to finish middle school in 2014. After graduating, she returned to her home island and married Sahrir and, in 2018, gave birth to their son. Sahrir works as a fisherman and earns only IDR30,000- 100,000 a day [approximately AUD3-10]. To contribute to her family's livelihood after her son was born, Juli began weaving seaweed and crab nets, selling clothes and face creams, and distributing wallets sewn by her sister.

Juli reflected that her interest in village leadership began from observing her grandfather, a Hamlet Head (Kepala Dusun), when she lived with him as a child. However, Juli and other young women in the village had few opportunities to gain understanding of how the village government operates and, as a result, were scared of approaching public officials and the police. She explains her motivation:

"*In his day, my grandfather, who has already passed now, was the first Hamlet Head on the island. My intention was to continue his work. My motivation has been to continue to improve governance here like my grandfather… I really want to advance my island. But before I joined the Women's School, I was scared of people in uniform. I had the motivation, but I was scared. I thought that those who wore uniform would want to capture me if I spoke up.*"

Juli's involvement with the Women's School began in 2014, when her younger sister was invited by a visiting Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation (YKPM) field staff member. From the moment she heard of YKPM's plans to establish a Women's School group in her village, Juli remembers being enthusiastic to continue her learning. Juli was initially elected as Secretary of the Women's School and later as President. At the Women's School, Juli and other women learned about their rights as citizens and advocacy skills, skills that Juli would later use to represent parents at a local primary school.

In 2016, mothers from a local primary school came to Juli and told her that their children were not routinely attending school because the teachers did not turn up. On their behalf, Juli sent a letter to the school asking for a community meeting about the attentiveness of the teaching staff and impacts on student learning. At the hearing, however, parents of students were scared to express their concerns, because they were afraid of the School Principal who was known in the area as being skilled at black magic. After the forum ended, the Principal approached Juli and demanded that she stop her advocacy and outspoken criticism because he would not hesitate to put a curse on her. She explains the fear:

"*Even the students' parents were afraid to speak, so it looked like the meeting was only my initiative, because it was only me who wanted to speak. The wife of the Hamlet Head also sided with the Principal... So, when residents were asked [what the problem was], there was no story [to tell]. It was as if it was just me making it all up. When it was over, the*

Principal said to me 'come here, don't be careless. If you report [what's going on], I'll put a curse on you', and threatened me. Maybe people were afraid, because he is a Mandarese person and they're known as being good at black magic. After that happened… I felt sick after our meeting… I came home sick and was sick for a few months. My vagina was swollen, until it looked like a ping pong ball. After being treated by the doctor, I went to the traditional healer, and they said it was because of black magic."

While Juli was recovering at home from her illness, most of the people who visited asked her to quit the Women's School group. They thought Juli's involvement in the School had caused her to become unwell. Juli, however, brushed off these fears and chose to continue to be involved in the Women's School. Juli explains her motivation:

"[I say] go for it anyway. Surrender to God for it is God who responds. When I got treated, maybe people thought 'oh this sick child will give up' but, but I didn't give up. The larger the challenge is, the more I like it. I am an island girl, big waves pass, they just pass."

Juli especially emphasises the importance of her relationship with Intan, a YKPM fieldworker, when she faced such challenges. Their relationship started after Intan recruited Juli and her sister to join the Women's School group. The relationship was strengthened by Juli's interest in understanding and sharing YKPM's gender equality materials, particularly those related to forging healthy and respectful relationships. Juli also described not only how much she enjoyed coming together with other women but also the networks she formed:

"I did not know anything about these four islands,… and now I do. I received lots of inputs from friends, and we could share [our experiences]. [I now have] many friends from other villages, we are close like family."

Juli's prominent role in Women's School activities and participation in training days conducted outside the village has on occasion caused tensions between her and her husband. He had expressed his objections to Juli's involvement before they got married, but she had continued to attend. These objections continued to cause tension and anger to the point of her husband being physically violent with Juli who refused to leave the Women's School group. The tensions continued even when she accompanied her husband to Papua for his work. In response, Juli left her husband and returned to her parents' house in Pangkep with her son and gave her husband an ultimatum to stop banning her from participating. In making this demand, Juli drew on the knowledge she had received about the importance of respecting women's bodies and decisions in the gender-awareness training in which she had participated.

Juli was involved in gaining funds from the Village Fund to support the Women's School. She attended village meetings along with other group members and the group developed strong ties with the Village Head through persistently and personally lobbying him for support throughout 2015 and 2016. He did indeed eventually support the initiative. And, in continuing advocacy for her community, Juli began focusing on the issue of solar panels and access to electricity. Juli tried to advocate for the procurement of a solar powerplant, both at the village development planning meeting (Musrenbangdes) and directly to the Village Head. While this plan could not be fully realised due to the unavailability of vacant land, now solar panels have been distributed to approximately 40% of residents of the island.

However, following the 2016 Village Head election, Juli and the Women's School are no longer able to access the Village Funds as before and have been excluded from attending village meetings (MusDes). The Village Head has blocked their involvement due to what he deemed to be a close association between the Women's School and the previous village administration. For a period, Juli and others continued to challenge the new Village Head personally when they ran into him in the village, but they continued to be excluded from MusDes. In response, they held a planning meeting, identifying group members with connections and family ties to the village administration. They used these ties to find out information on when the meetings were to be held and just turned up uninvited. They even set up a 'Post for Accessing Social Protection Programs' in one of the small kiosks owned by a group member directly opposite the Village Head's office where women do their daily shopping, as a form of protest and a strategic way to embarrass the Village Head for his actions.

While the Village Head continues resist the participation of Women's School group members in MusDes, the women are slowly gaining traction. Juli continues to be optimistic that the Women's School can continue in her village and recruit more women.

Indeed, these journeys were not without their pitfalls and setbacks, even for women who—unlike in Juli's case above—were already active in villages or had the support of authoritative figures such as the Village Head. Overcoming these challenges was helped by group support, working together, building networks and trust. We see these dimensions in extracts from Ati's life history below. However, when her trust was initially broken due to financial mismanagement (outside of the women's group), she worried she had broken the trust of others and initially tried to resolve this herself as she felt accountable. When she could not manage this alone, she stepped back from the group. However, she did not entirely give up and returned to the group some time later. When she did, through collective effort and supported by others, Ati and her fellow group members re-commenced their journey of building opportunities and choices for women in the village and more widely.

Box 18: The Life History of Ati: Growing her Access to and Use of Community Networks

Thirty-eight-year-old Ati has been a Pekka union village coordinator in the Bangkalan research village since 2015 and head of her own kindergarten since 2013. Ati married when she was eighteen years old and has two children. Together with her husband, Ati runs a quite successful wedding marquee and sound system hire business. Since the 1990s, Ati worked at her hamlet's *Posyandu* and is also the head of the Muslimat *pengajian* (prayer) group (Muslimat is the Nahdlatul Ulama women's organisation), which has forty members. Her work in both these organisations has meant that Ati is a well-known and trusted member of her community. Given this trust, a network of village women supported Ati to establish the only kindergarten in her hamlet with her niece in 2013.

Ati began being involved in the Pekka union in 2015 after her older cousin, a known community figure in her hamlet and trusted by the village leadership, recommended her to the Village Head, after being asked to identify potential members. Ati accepted the appointment as head of the Pekka union in her village, considering it reflective of the Village Head's confidence in her abilities, particularly as the then Village Head was the stepson of her respected Qur'an studies teacher when she was a teenager.

Ati recalled that after she agreed to join and lead the village's Pekka union, fieldworkers frequently visited her at home and invited her to cadre meetings. As the Pekka union did not yet have an office in the district, these meetings rotated between the houses of cadres like Ati. She says:

"I didn't have knowledge about what PEKKA was, and then I was visited by Mbak Fat [the PEKKA field coordinator]. *[Before] every meeting I was visited. So, then I knew about it. There were cadre meetings every month but there wasn't an office then. Our meetings would move. If I was called for a cadre meeting, then sometimes I would say "where's that" and search for the house but [sometimes] not find it… I can read and write, but not well."*

Her husband supported her burgeoning involvement in the Pekka union since their children were now old enough to be left alone, on the provision that she did not go out all day and that the activities did not require her staying somewhere else at night. Ati describes the challenges:

"*When I participate in PEKKA activities it [often] goes all day. Sometimes training is for three days…and it goes on until evening prayers, until 7 at night. My husband gets angry at me for going to those all-day activities. Yeah, I get pretty scared… But now, the latest time training finishes is 4pm in the afternoon. We all make a schedule."*

The following year, Ati participated in PEKKA's Village Consultation and Information Service (Klinik Layanan Informasi dan Konsultasi - KLIK) in a neighbouring village, by helping those visiting the KLIK to obtain birth certificates, identity and family cards. For Ati, this experience was an important part of her wider understanding PEKKA's mission and the role that her village's Pekka union could play in creating change and supporting village communities. Ati explains:

"*Then finally [after] one year, I got invited to help [at KLIK]. At the Clinic there were* ustad *[Muslim clerics] and community leaders, and the Village Head. It was there that my knowledge continued to expand."*

Through participating in multi-stakeholder initiatives like this, Ati grew and strengthened her networks with authoritative figures in the village and beyond. Ati also incorporated the knowledge and experience she gained from her

pengajian group to her work with PEKKA and increasingly took on a leadership role in organising and inspiring other women. She invited members to create a collective savings group, which then became a draw card for attracting new members. This 25-member group saved approximately IDR5 million [AUD500] per year.

In 2017, the co-operative that stored the savings group's funds experienced financial problems. Even though Ati was not aware of exactly what happened, as a leader she felt a responsibility to respond to her members. Ati tried to replace group member's contributions from her own savings, before the money was later reimbursed by PEKKA. Following these events in 2017, Ati began participating less in Pekka union activities due to these difficulties, and difficulties in travelling to events held in the district centre, which is about ten kilometres from her village. This decision to step back from activities also caused many of the members of Pekka in Ati's village to resign from the union. She says:

"*I stepped down, I didn't have a companion, or friends, I was just facing the problems alone. […] So, I was not active for a year, and my groups were also not active.*"

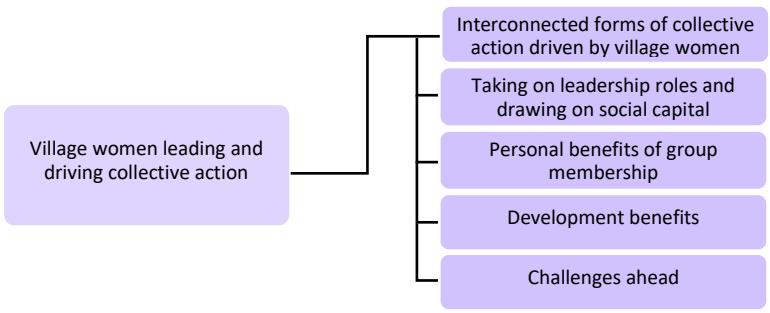
Ati became active again in the Pekka union in 2018 when her niece, Mita, graduated from university in Tanah Merah District and returned to the village. Mita accompanied Ati to the district centre, and also became a Pekka cadre. With Mita's assistance, they reformed the Western Hamlet Savings Group that Ati had founded and recruited 40 members. Ati also founded a second group in the Eastern part of the village, which now has around 100 members. These groups run Qur'an recitation and prayer meetings in which women also are given materials on and discuss gender empowerment and equality. At least once a month, PEKKA officials from the district visit these meetings to promote the importance of vital identity documents for accessing social services. Ati and Mita have also re-started a savings initiative in which each member contributes IDR2,000 [AUD0.20] a week and larger voluntary contributions at weekly meetings.

Reflecting on her work, Ati notes that while the Pekka groups have brought change to her own life and the village, women like her niece Mita still face challenges in continuing education and in being involved in the public sphere.

4.3 Village women leading and driving collective action

Juli and Ati's journeys of growing their agency, voice and involvement in collective action were not dissimilar to that of other women in many of the other research villages. What we see in the examples above is a number of processes at play over time, with different forms of collective action emerging to first, make positive changes in women's lives, and second, to influence broader village-decision making processes. We explore more details on the forms of collective action and the patterns and intensity of different forms at the village level in Section 5. However, it is important to emphasise at the outset that these forms of collective action are often interrelated, and overlapping or intersecting in the case studies of village stories of change, particularly when it comes to women's influence on village development and governance. First, however, in this sub-section we examine women's experiences of driving collective action and group participation.

Figure 13: Women's Experiences of Driving Collective Action and Group Participation


Village women leading and driving collective action
Interconnected forms of collective action driven by village women
Taking on leadership roles and drawing on social capital
Personal benefits of group membership
Development benefits
Challenges ahead

A combination of interconnected forms of collective action driven by village women

In many research villages, together, women have successfully shaped village policy and contributed to village incomes. In the volume of women's life stories (see Setiawan et al., 2020) and the volume of detailed case studies that trace the processes of change in women's influence in the research villages (see Savirani et al. 2020), excerpts of which are provided throughout this report, it is evident that women's journeys in villages over time involve multiple forms of collective action that often overlap or intersect. Such collective action has been spearheaded by specific village women who have advocated for change in their communities and in village development so as to be more gender inclusive.

For example, in Pangkep, Laila, Cahaya, Norma, and Juli and others from the Women's School in the village successfully campaigned for electrification and access to clean water. Cahaya also campaigned and ran for office in the district elections. Tari (Labuhan Batu, North Sumatra), Laeli (East Lombok), and Yohana (North Central Timor), were actively involved in the drafting of Village and District Regulations on the rights of women and children. In Central Lombok, the survey of migrant workers conducted by Gita and other village women was invaluable in changing village-level policy improving the protection of prospective, current, and former migrant workers. In North Hulu Sungai, South Kalimantan, Aminah played a key role in the establishment of the village-owned enterprise. In Gresik, Cirebon, Bantul, and at least initially in the Pangkep research 'intervention' village (as Juli's story illustrates), women's collective action also led to them being increasingly included in village decision-making forums and in other authoritative structures such as the provision of programs and services.

Participating in women's groups too has in and of itself constituted a form of collective action in creating positive change in women's lives. Women's groups have increasingly shared knowledge of and access to services for themselves and other women and expanded women's skills in voicing the needs of their communities. In Bangkalan and North Hulu Sungai, Mita and Farah were actively involved in enhancing women's access to official documents through PEKKA's KLIK Program, which we saw in the Story of Change case excerpt above. In Lampung, and the Gresik research 'intervention' village, Sulis and Lastri, respectively, helped other women access the National Health Insurance Scheme. Similarly, in Gresik (the 'intervention' village), Cirebon and Tanggamus districts, Lasinem, Srikandi, and Sulis enhanced women's knowledge of and access to health information and checks, particularly for women's reproductive health.

Women in a diverse range of village contexts have thus increased political inclusion and actively participated in and influenced decision-making. We can see from Juli and Ati's stories above and from the experiences of others, women's collective action involved often multiple forms and combinations of the following types of action outlined in Box 19. We return in Section 5 to these forms to discuss them in further detail and to comparatively map their patterns and intensity across the research sites.

Box 19: Women Driving Change through Different Intersecting and Overlapping Forms of Collective Action

- ***Groups membership and participation:*** Joining women's groups and sharing information, skills and other opportunities with other group members. These spaces are in and of themselves forums where women collectively make changes in their own lives and the lives of others. Through group participation (particularly those groups concerned with gender awareness) women also become more overtly aware of gender issues in their own lives and more sensitive towards the issues that women in their local communities face, creating a sense of solidarity among women. Group participation also extended women's social, and in many cases financial, capital and other opportunities.

- ***Actively taking up leadership and organising roles to build/extend networks among women:*** Women built networks through groups and also extended these networks to other women over time through active organising and information sharing. This was evident in all case studies of village processes of change and throughout women's life history narratives.
- ***Participatory data collection and evidence-based advocacy:*** Not only involves women in the process of data collection in a way that grows their own participation and awareness of common issues facing village women, but the data is then used as a means to lobby village and district officials for new initiatives. This was evident in the Bangkalan case study of a Story of Change above and in many case studies that are explored in later sections.
- ***Building networks and ties between village women and other influential actors:*** Women have built individual and group networks with influential and authoritative figures in the village to garner support for their initiatives. Together with these figures, women advocate to gain support for their initiatives from the community or other authoritative actors, in a form of *networked* collective action. We will return to this in more detail in Section 5.
- ***Lobbying authoritative actors through informal interpersonal networks:*** We have seen this throughout the examples above, including in Juli's experience in Pangkep.
- ***Acts of discursive and other forms of protest and resistance:*** Such protest is used to pressure resistant authorities for change, as was evident in Juli's experience in Pangkep described above.
- ***Participation in decision-making forums and in other influential programs and services:*** Women collectively participate in different consultative forums (e.g. MusDes, Musrenbang and other meetings, representative councils, planning sessions, committees) where decisions are made, and spearhead on-the-ground initiatives through multi-stakeholder taskforces and forums that support village development or services.
- ***Drafting or providing content into Village and District Regulations***: This was a common form of collective action and is evident in the Bangkalan case study excerpt above.
- ***Campaigning and running for office in elections***: While this was a rarer form of collective action evident in the research sites, it did occur in the Pangkep 'intervention' village and in elsewhere.

Taking on leadership roles and drawing on different forms of social capital

Underpinning such action was different forms of agency (for further discussion see Section 6) and the use of social and other resources. Juli and Ati's practical and organising skills, knowledge, confidence, and networks grew over time. In taking up formal and informal leadership roles for women's groups and collectivities and in the village more widely, often in response to the concerns of village women, many women like Juli and Ati spearheaded new initiatives within and beyond these women's groups and drew on these intrinsic skills and networks to drive processes to increase women's influence and power. Women in these informal and formal leadership roles increasingly leveraged their networks and other resources, or what might be considered forms of social capital, to mobilise support and to circumvent challenges and obstacles as they arose, even if they initially stepped back in the face of such challenges as in Ati's case above.

What was evident in the analysis was that there were some cohort experiences among those women who took on stronger leadership roles in driving collective action in the research sites, which we discuss below. Some women were, because of prior life experience, better equipped (although not always aware nor confident that they had potential) to take on more influential organisational or leadership roles among women to drive collective action in relation to village governance when the opportunity arose. Some also had a more than one of the attributes identified below. Others had not dreamed nor considered that they had the potential to take on such leadership roles to drive women's collective action, particularly those from more vulnerable groups, but they too were able to lead action with encouragement and group support. It is helpful to understand these backgrounds in order to identify potential agents in other places that might take

on a strong role in driving collective action for rural women's influence on village governance and wider structures of power, especially initially.

Prior experience in group organising roles

Some women who led efforts to drive women's collective action and influence over village governance had prior experience in women's groups or other organising roles, although in these prior roles such groups or the women themselves had not been actively involved in influencing village development and governance. Women with such backgrounds encompassed a variety of rural village women, including those from more vulnerable groups such as female heads of families.

Take for instance Hatini in the Cirebon research village, who first worked as a factory worker before opening a small kiosk selling vegetables and fried snacks (*gorengan*). She was active in both the Posyandu and PKK before joining an 'Aisyiyah village women's group. From a person who was known as very shy and not confident, which she in part attributed to her primary school education, Hatini felt emboldened by opportunities to travel outside the village for activities conducted by the group. She became a source of knowledge for women in her hamlet, not only about reproductive health but also on how to acquire identity documents. Hatini is now far more confident to share her views and to advocate in village meetings, which she had not previously attended. For instance, in the 2018 and 2019 Musrenbangdes, she led efforts to put forward successful proposals on behalf of some of the village women.

Likewise, Aminah is a former migrant worker in her fifties and single parent from North Hulu Sungai. Aminah was the treasurer of the Posyandu and PKK before joining the Pekka union for the female heads of families. Her experience and networks among PKK and Posyandu members were among the reasons she was invited as one of the first members to help form the Pekka union. Despite her prior involvement in the PKK and Posyandu, Aminah initially experienced fear and a lack of confidence when communicating with government officials. Aminah had migrated via illicit channels to Saudi Arabia in the 1980s. Upon returning to Kalimantan, she and her husband only had just enough money to pay for a new motorbike and initially to bring in others to help establish their rice field. After her husband's death in 2007, Aminah faced significant economic challenges to pay for her youngest child to attend school and she wanted her two older children to continue their education at university. By stretching her income and through vigilant saving habits, she successfully achieved her dream of educating her children.

Through observing these achievements, others saw her as suitable for leadership before, in her words, she herself "realised it". Through her involvement in the Pekka union group, Aminah became confident to attend village meetings (even if she was not invited), and in 2015 attended a leadership training course in Jakarta. She is now a highly active community member in many women's groups and has led efforts to push for the establishment of a welfare-based Village Owned Enterprise. She has also led successful efforts to gain allocations of funds for other women's priorities.

However, having such a background in participating in or leading the Posyandu and PKK is not a given pathway for leading collective action to influence wider village governance. For example, there was little evidence in the Pangkep 'control' site of women from these existing women's state-corporatist organisations—groups such as the PKK or KWT—using this experience to lead other initiatives or collective action to influence village governance so as to be more gender inclusive or prioritise initiatives proposed by women. In the Gresik 'control' site (see Section 3), the PKK (through its leader) had made one proposal in the six years since the Village Law began to be implemented—to construct Early Childhood Education Centre

(PAUD) facilities, which was well aligned with village government's priorities of infrastructure development for the use of the Village Fund. The village government, in particular the Village Head agreed after significant informal, personal lobbying from the PKK chairwoman.

While many of the women with prior organising roles may have had the potential to be more involved in village decision-making, they had not previously been involved without encouragement and support for many of the reasons outlined above. This includes norms on gender roles in communities that excluded women from public decision-making forums and that there were few opportunities in which they were welcomed (in some cases, their participation was overtly resisted), or due to other challenges along the way.

Family connections and experience in group representation

Some women emerged to be more prominent in driving village women's collective action to influence village decision-making due to their prior experience in more junior roles in village governance or because they had other types of connections—family, ethnic, religious and customary—that they could leverage to bolster women's influence. Having such ties per se was not sufficient to explain if, and which, women emerged in strong organising roles and in driving women's collective action, but leveraging such ties was a process to mobilise other women and broaden support in the village for women's initiatives, and to navigate obstacles when they arose.

Ati in Bangkalan, whose life history excerpt is provided above in Box 18, had some social capital on which to draw to drive the influence of women and circumvent challenges that arose. She had some family ties to influential village social figures, as her older cousin was a well-known community figure in her hamlet who had the trust of the Village Head. In helping to spearhead women's collective action in the village, Ati was able to leverage such connections to develop stronger ties with, and the trust of, the Village Head and other leaders, which was helpful in garnering support for Pekka union activities and the new initiatives to verify and register religious marriages.

Laila rose over time with the support of the Women's School group to be influential in driving advocacy for women's influence on village development, together with Juli and Cahaya. She had had a relative lack of interaction with village leaders and for a long time was afraid of government officials, particularly inspectors on piers, as one of the quotes above illustrates. But support from the group gave her greater confidence over time to endeavour to have greater influence and to engage with these leaders. She became the Neighbourhood Head in one of the small island hamlets in the Pangkep 'intervention' research village with the support of the group. In this role, she developed stronger ties with other village leaders, which proved useful when the new Village Head withdrew village government support for the group, as these village women sought to find other ways to access village decision-making meetings.

Gita in Central Lombok was a descendent of 'local nobility' and had had the opportunity to undertake higher education on a provincial scholarship. In part because of this social position and education, she then gained employment with the National Community Empowerment Program (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa Mandiri, PNPM) through which she became more well known in the community due to this public facing role. Gita leveraged this experience, which she explained gave her an understanding of and connection to community members, to later lead the migrant worker survey.

Experience in public-facing roles through income generation or education

A number of the women who eventually became leaders in driving women's collective action in their village to influence the Village Law had prior experience in public-facing income generation activities that had increased their interaction with other community members. This was helpful for more quickly growing confidence and later engaging with villagers to garner support for new women's initiatives or to mobilise other women to join in activities as they were well known.

Often it was older women who had found themselves as the primary family breadwinner early in life, who had this kind of extended experience in public-facing income generation roles, as they had needed to create livelihood opportunities to support their families. Many women who emerged in organising roles ran small kiosks or undertook other livelihood activities that saw their frequent engagement with community members. Aminah and Hatini had these kinds of backgrounds that took them out of the home to generate incomes. Husnul in East Lombok for instance, who is in her early fifties, worked as a tailor and made chips to support five children while her husband travelled back and forth to Malaysia as a migrant worker. She joined the Constituent Group in the village that was influential in pushing for the Village Regulation on the Protection of Women.

Among those younger women who more quickly took on informal and formal leadership roles in driving women's collective action, many had prior access to education that had not only (to a degree) bolstered self-belief, but also led to employment in public facing roles such as teachers. This offered similar benefits for mobilising other women in terms of community contact and networks. Such connections were helpful for younger women like Mita (Bangkalan) and Gita (Central Lombok). Both Gita and Mita have been able to both pursue careers and establish families, thereby challenging social norms that married women have no role beyond the domestic sphere. They use this experience, in their words, to try and motivate and be role models for other women.

Growing experience, building trust and extending and leveraging networks

What is clear from the examples above is that many of the women who emerged as key mobilisers and leaders in driving collective action in the research sites, may or may not have initially had some intrinsic motivation. However, they either drew on their background and experience to drive women's collective action or developed this experience over time. That is, prior experience in organising roles, public-facing livelihoods, education, or existing family and other ties was helpful but was not essential for women to take on leadership roles in driving women's collective action in villages. Gita had some of these background attributes yet Lasinem, detailed below, had none.

Lasinem, the Women's School group coordinator in the Gresik 'intervention' village came from a very poor family. Family and community perceptions of the lack of importance of female education had constrained Lasinem's ability to continue her education. She had no prior experience in women's groups and held the perception, like many others in the village, that married women should stay within domestic sphere, explaining that "Before, I thought if a woman is a housewife, then matters outside the household cease to exist".

When she first was invited to join the Women's School group, she thought that by joining she would receive some kind of benefits in the form of financial or other aid. But then she found the Women's School provided an opportunity for her to continue her education. She became increasingly active, participated in many of

the School's activities, and eventually became the head of the group. She explained that being in the group provided her with new skills in negotiation and public speaking, strategies to share work in the household, and gender awareness. She even took part in a long march for diversity in Surabaya in 2014 with other Women's School members. Lasinem explained that her growing contact and networks with other women increased empathy towards other women, their needs, and the challenges they (often collectively) faced. Now she shares knowledge with neighbours in regular gatherings and has been deeply involved in advocating for village support for the School from the Village Fund.

We can see from the many examples above, that ultimately, in the life trajectories that saw these women take on formal and informal leadership roles and spearhead collective action, regardless of their initial background, many became adept at leveraging and extending social connections and building trust, most importantly with other women, but also with other influential actors. They used this social capital to mobilise village women, communities and influential actors to support women's initiatives and increasing involvement in village development and decision making.

Personal benefits of group membership: Aspirations and a bigger purpose, confidence and pride, and friendships

Many women also described the very personal benefits they obtained from participating in group activities, women's collectivities and collective action. These are the more intangible and difficult to measure benefits of their journeys. These include, most fundamentally, contributing to a bigger purpose, often one that has interrelated social, economic, and political benefits and continues to expand group goals, so as to express women's voices and aspirations. It also includes gaining confidence and courage of the likes of that described above and below, as well as networks and friendships that are important for wellbeing and collective action, a sense of comfort and support that helps counter resistance, and inspiration and pride.

Many women described the difference they felt when participating in groups with activities that had a purpose bigger than 'just', in their words, gathering for social activities, providing food for village meetings or traditional ceremonies, or for growing basic household skills (such as cooking and baking). Women were often familiar with the latter group activities in areas where women's group activities already existed. Women explained that groups with an 'empowerment' purpose (i.e. gender awareness training) were more forward looking and aspirational, focused on growing choices, and in building connection to others. Ultimately, women felt participating in groups that had this kind of purpose gave them legitimacy to exercise voice and influence more broadly.

Participation gave women pride, courage, confidence and inspiration.

> *"I feel more confident now to share my opinion. I feel capable, I have self-belief, whereas before I was nervous and really shy."* Laeli, Head of the Mele Maju Constituent Group, East Lombok research village, 10 July 2019.

> *"It was PEKKA that suggested that we have these skills and [now] we have [our own] village-owned enterprise."* Hj. Aminah, North Hulu Sungai research village, 15 July 2015.

> *"Talking sometimes was hard. At meetings I gave welcome speeches, they just had limited scope, like for the hamlet PKK. But after I went to FAKTA-DAMAR training, something changed… I wanted to become someone who is intelligent. Someone who isn't insecure if I socialise with someone who is more than me. The thing is that [now] we have already connected with the village staff and subdistrict officials."* Mariana, Tanggamus research village, 5 July 2019.

> *"It makes me proud of myself that I can fund my children to complete higher education. Now [my first child] has graduated from his undergraduate degree and has become a government case worker. The most important thing that I continue to do is be steadfast and patient."* Farah, Head of the Pekka Setia Kawan group, North Hulu Sungai research village, 13 July 2019.

It built friendships, which Mariana immediately associated with the knowledge she gained:

> *"Thanks to God, I gained new knowledge about gender equality. I gained many friends, from [other places, such as] Central Lampung and East Lampung."* Mariana, Tanggamus research village, 5 July 2019.

It was different to other groups and had a purpose:

> *"I used to be invited a lot to prayer groups [pengajian], but I didn't want to go. Sometimes I answered with a joke: 'what will be the outcome for me if I go? Women who go to prayer groups here just pretend to be socialites.' Sometimes we are not comfortable with that. But that was before, now sometimes I go to prayer group activities. The PKK too, I was invited but I didn't want to go, I responded 'I don't love the PKK yet'. Until now, I haven't participated in the PKK. Why would I want to go? The PKK just gather, drink tea, chat, and then go home."* Tari, Deputy Village Head of SPI and Head of Labuhan Batu research village's Multi-stakeholder Forum, 13 October 2019.

> *"We were originally in groups, in lots of groups and in lots of villages. Then we united. We brought the groups and members together and made a cooperative, which manages the money better."* Aminah, North Hulu Sungai research village, 15 July 2019.

And ultimately, the fruits of their group efforts have given women greater legitimacy for participating in village development decision-making forums. For example, the Village Regulation that has been passed as the result of collective efforts in the East Lombok research (see Box 20) has given legitimacy to women and children because it has not only brought attention to their needs and priorities in the village, but also gives women the sense that they now play an active role in development.

> *"We now feel like the village government pays attention to us. Before, no one took care of [our needs], but now we feel like they pay attention to us and that we are important."* Laeli, Head of Mele Maju Constituent Group, East Lombok research village, 5 July 2019.

Development benefits of change

In addition to the personal and empowerment benefits described above, throughout this report and at the beginning of this chapter we also detail the broader village development benefits that take into account women's priorities, which have occurred in places where significant efforts have been made to increase women's voice and influence. These include innovations in service provision, education, infrastructure, social protection, economic opportunities and many others, along with slow, incremental changes to gendered social norms. If we take just one example of a development challenge, tackling domestic violence, we can see that in the Tanggamus village there has been significant change. There is a new Village Regulation to allocate some of the Village Fund for a taskforce to help tackle this issue as well as counselling for victims:

> *"Here, there has been counselling from DAMAR and now women are not afraid to speak out. Last year there was the case of a woman migrant worker who had just returned home after a year away. Her husband hit her, and she immediately reported this to a member of the task force. This member then took her to the community health centre to be treated and contacted the Integrated Service Centre for the Empowerment of Women and Children*

[P2TP2A] and the police. This shows that the networks respond quickly, if a case occurs, we immediately offer care." Village midwife, Tanggamus research village, 8 July 2019.

Change is similarly underway in the East Lombok research village. The Mele Maju Constituent group is a mixed gender forum focused on advocating for more inclusive political decision making with a strong focus on lobbying the village government to make improvements in areas of concern to women. The Constituent Group and village women together lobbied for and helped the village government to develop the Village Regulation on Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, despite resistance from factions within the village.

Box 20: A Story of Change From Below from the East Lombok Research Village—Tackling Domestic Violence

In East Lombok, one major issue of concern is the protection of women and children from domestic violence. Villagers formed the mixed-gender Mele Maju Constituent Group with the support of the Eastern Indonesian Knowledge Exchange Foundation (BaKTI). The Constituent Group aimed to support advocacy and influence in the village on a number of issues of concern, particularly for women, such as responding to social norms that have led to the continuation of physical, economic and psychological forms of violence against women and have restricted women's involvement in formal and informal decision-making processes in the community.

The Mele Maju Constituent Group represents the interests and communicates the aspirations of the research village's community to the village government. The Group has contributed to provincial and district level policies designed to protect women and children. The group serves as an informal space for community support and discussions and its members are trusted confidants for women to disclose experiences of violence. It has also helped establish and strengthen networks with influential government and non-government leaders in the village.

Women's experiences of paralegal work led to the Mele Maju Constituent Group becoming the lead advocate for policy reform through the new Village Regulation No. 4/2018 on the Protection of Women and Children. The Constituent Group has also been formally recognised in Village Regulations, and activities to protect women and children receive some funds from the Village Fund.

The active role of the Mele Maju Constituent Group in the East Lombok research village has also created broader positive changes. Women members have become more confident and able to voice their needs and aspirations through their networks and in village meetings. The 2018 Village Regulation has also brought greater attention to the need to support women and children (as well as to respond to cases of domestic violence as well as undertake prevention efforts) and has expanded the roles of women in public and private spheres. The group also now has a female leader, after its former group leader was elected as Village Head in the face of fierce competition.

"Before I was shy, but after participating in BaKTI programs, I [feel] able to socialise." Marisa, Constituent Group member and Early Childhood Education Teacher, East Lombok research village, 10 July 2019.

"When [Rahmat, the current Village Head] was elected, he said 'Replace me with Laeli' … I wanted to be involved and become Head [of the group] because I was encouraged by fellow women." Laeli, Head of Mele Maju Constituent Group, East Lombok research village, 5 July 2019.

The Village Regulation was designed to provide pathways for reporting and handling cases of domestic violence. The implementation of the regulation challenged social norms, which has meant that change has been slow and, in some cases, resisted. Consequently, the regulation produced two contrasting outcomes. On the one hand, some women have increasingly reported violence they experience. On the other hand, other women remain reluctant to report cases of violence to the reporting posts developed under the Regulation because of a wider social stigma against divorce, which holds that women who report intra-household issues such as domestic violence are in effect initiating divorce processes and causing their husbands to suffer. The Regulation has been an important early step, however, the formal approach taken in the formation of this Village Regulation has compounded distance between some community members who

prefer informal mechanisms and the institutions in the village. The village is learning from this process and working towards combining informal structures and mechanisms for supporting responses to domestic violence alongside the more formal approaches in regulations.

Formulating and passing this Village Regulation has brought the deep social norms on gender roles to a head. Reporting domestic violence, criticising husbands, and other related dynamics remain heavily contested in the East Lombok research village, with some villagers—both men and women—resistant to the change and others unwilling to use the formal mechanisms it proposes for resolving cases of domestic violence and other intra-household issues. However, despite the challenges and the difficult journey ahead for tackling domestic violence and other social norms on gender, some women nonetheless positively described the changes that were occurring within households and the village.

These women described how their participation in Mele Maju Constituent Group and the Village Regulation that they helped to get enacted, increased women's bargaining position in domestic and public spheres. In the domestic sphere, they describe how some women have more equal bargaining positions with their husbands, and in the public sphere, more of the Village Fund is allocated for women's self-determined priorities.

> *"I said to my husband, if he doesn't let me work at the school, I will tell the village leaders. I will tell them. The school is not just for me, but for my husband and for the village. If my husband doesn't let me, I will tell village leaders, I will report him—that's the term for it. 'Here is my husband who won't let me go to school.'"* Sahnas, member of the Constituent Group and teacher, East Lombok research village, 12 July 2019.

> *"The village [government] itself has protected us, why aren't our husbands ashamed if they can't protect us, and instead hurt us."* Laeli, East Lombok research village, 10 July 2019.

> *"Before, her parents did not want to pay for her to study at university. But after she got married and she had this Village Regulation [to refer to], they knew how important education was for her future children and her husband, so she continued her education."* Village Head, East Lombok research village, 7 July 2019.

Challenges ahead

The journeys illustrated above have been complex and are no means over. Some women are still cautious in the ways that they approach advocating for change in women's representation in public spheres and in aggressively pursuing changes to household dynamics. They endeavour to navigate the challenges in a way that does not exclude them from the communities on which they rely.

> *"So think about it. If our husbands continue to just do what they like, it doesn't have to be like it is. He has to still treat us well. But how do we respond? If we want to protest [when we are treated badly], we have to see the conditions first."* Widya, East Lombok research village, 10 July 2019.

> *"At the training we were taught about sex and gender… What we have experienced is that the materials do not always correspond with what we thought we knew. [One woman that came] ended up going home and then, after that, was scared of joining the group. She thought she would be committing a sin. In the end, she said to her neighbours, the Women's School is teaching women how to be brave when it comes to their husbands."* Lasinem, Women's School member, Gresik research 'intervention' village, 20 February 2019.

> *"There are always challenges [in the learning process], as we sometimes don't believe in ourselves. I remember one time, we weren't confident meeting officials. I was trembling, like when I first joined the union and was a training facilitator for the first time. Then I also trembled when I was at the front, but I kept trying. I kept trying and trying, and I made myself confident. I hadn't ever given a welcome speech, but I tried. I kept going and didn't*

care even if what I was saying was wrong in some people's opinions. I said what I wanted to say. Who knows if what I said was right or not, I don't know. The point is that I tried." Mia, Secretary of the Homeworkers Union, Deli Serdang research village, 8 November 2019.

Women will continue to encounter resistance as each village, community and individual is often at a different stage of the journey. Women often face a triple and even quadruple burden of household obligations, various community, religious, customary and other social obligations, in some cases employment responsibilities, alongside the challenges of changing gender norms and power structures through participating in women's collectivities that have these kinds of goals embedded in the more concrete functions of the group. It is difficult to maintain commitment to women's group activities amidst all these responsibilities.

For example, Laeli, the head of the Constituent Group in East Lombok, really feels "the burden of all the roles [she] holds". From her leadership of community groups, to running her tofu and cracker business, at the same time she has "domestic responsibilities that rest on [her] shoulders" and "this has implications for [her] desire to spend more time with [her] children", made worse because her "husband and children don't really understand that [she] is so busy and that [she] does it for them and for a much wider set of group interests". Because of this, Laeli has been thinking about reducing her role as the deputy chair of the women's group so that she has more time for other things, in particular, running her business.

For Lasinem in the Gresik research 'intervention' village, she struggles with similar burdens. She has seen a number of her friends withdraw from the women's group because of these burdens and the challenges they face at home with 'resistant husbands', while Lasinem and others have persevered to counter what Lasinem describes as "women's long experience of injustice".

Finally, as these groups become more established and influential, they are also at risk of politicisation—both to reverse the gains made, or as a way of affecting future influence. We saw this happen in the Pangkep research 'intervention' village in Juli's life history above; her experience was shaped by changing village politics. In this village the Women's School gained the support of the village government and Village Head for Village Fund allocations for the Women's School, and a significant degree of support from women's inclusion the village governance. However, after the Village Head elections, the new Village Head not only associated the School with the prior regime and wanted to sideline women from the School from participating in MusDes, but also wanted to limit community participation in MusDes more widely—he is now under investigation for funds misappropriation (we return to this case in Section 8). Juli explains the close ties between wealthy actors who control the fishing industry and financial credit for villages and village political elites:

"[The wealthy man] told me that if I accept [the conditions of the loan], he will give me as loan as large as I want. But this will be a way to oppress fisher people. Like in the Village Head election. [I was told] if I didn't help [get his son-in-law elected], then I must pay off the debt I owe. I was forced to help him get elected as [were others] as the debts totalled ten million, twenty million, even fifty million rupiah." Julianti, Pangkep research 'intervention' village, 2 March 2019.

We can see above that change is both personal, social and political, and is unlikely to be an always an upwardly linear and progressive trajectory as women, groups and communities encounter internal and external challenges and opportunities. Women can experience setbacks, new obstacles and even see their influence decline even after a number of years of support, particularly if such influence is yet to be sufficiently embedded as status quo practice. Changing gender norms and the way power is exercised and

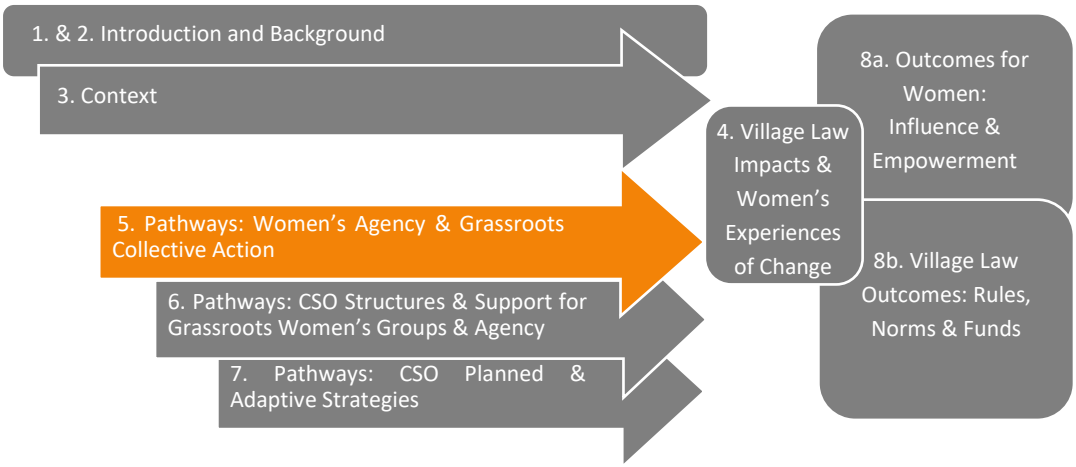
influenced so as to be more inclusive of women, both in Indonesian public life more broadly and more specifically in village development, is not a process which happens overnight on program timeframes or in just a few years—but, as we will see in later sections, it can be hastened with multi-stakeholder support.

5.

PATHWAYS OF INFLUENCE:

WOMEN'S AGENCY AND GRASSROOTS COLLECTIVE ACTION

5. Pathways of Influence: Women's Agency and Grassroots Collective Action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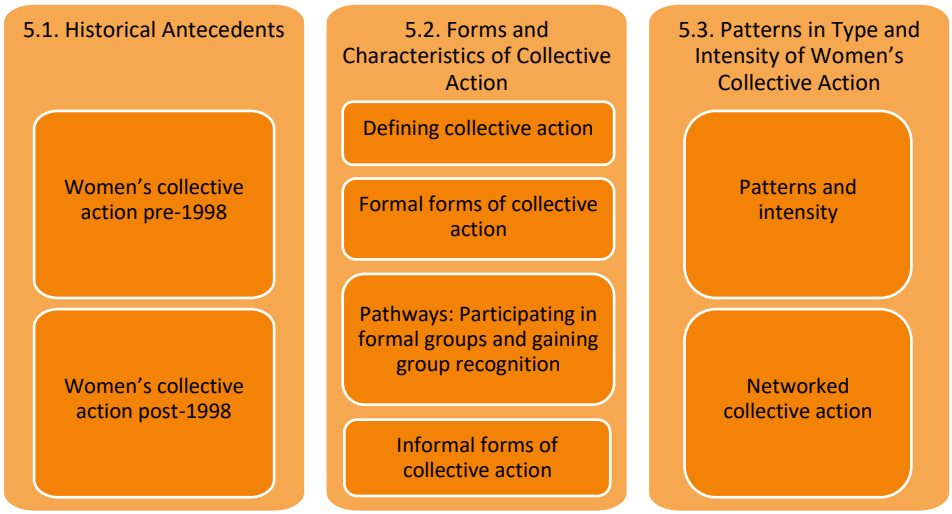
3. Context
5. Pathways: Women's Agency & Grassroots Collective Action
6. Pathways: CSO Structures & Support for Grassroots Women's Groups & Agency
7. Pathways: CSO Planned & Adaptive Strategies
4. Village Law Impacts & Women's Experiences of Change
8a. Outcomes for Women: Influence & Empowerment
8b. Village Law Outcomes: Rules, Norms & Funds

The previous sections explored both the different dimensions of district and village contexts that might constrain or enable women's collective action and empowerment, provided an initial summary of Village Law impacts identified in the study, and explored how women perceived and experienced changes in exercising voice and influence. This section explains the main forms of grassroots collective action identified in the research sites and the patterns in the forms and intensity of collective action through groups and networks across the research villages, with a particular focus on how individual and collective capacity to improve well-being and exercise voice evolved. Many of the forms of collective action were interrelated, mutually strengthening, and sometimes overlapped in the processes that led to women having greater influence on the structures of power and decision making.

It is important to note that the study does not seek to explain all dimensions of women's associational life and household dynamics in each village, but rather to identify patterns in the processes and experiences, which not only bolstered broad improvement in women's wellbeing but also influenced structures of power and decision making in village governance and more widely.

We begin by providing a brief history of the women's movement in Indonesia, with emphasis on core women's organisations—particularly those with reach in rural Indonesia—and how the prior authoritarian regime sought to create structures to shape the nature and form of women's role in society as wives and mothers responsible for families and the household. This is important for understanding how women's organisations from the period (that remain today) certainly had experience of organising and of improving women's wellbeing in particular domains (e.g. health, education). However, such organising was also limited in bolstering women's political participation and more diversified roles. Instead, it often instead reinforced gender roles. We then discuss in more detail the forms of collective action that were evident in the research sites across the trajectories of change traced through the case studies. The analysis then explores comparatively the patterns of these forms of women's collective action—both formal and informal—that were evident in the research sites, disaggregating these patterns by type of context. The key content of the section is provided in Figure 14.

Figure 14: Structure and Key Content of Section 5


5.1. Historical Antecedents
Women's collective action pre-1998
Women's collective action post-1998
5.2. Forms and Characteristics of Collective Action
Defining collective action
Formal forms of collective action
Pathways: Participating in formal groups and gaining group recognition
Informal forms of collective action
5.3. Patterns in Type and Intensity of Women's Collective Action
Patterns and intensity
Networked collective action

5.1 Historical antecedents

Women's collective action pre-1998

Women's collective action through networks, mass organisations and women's groups, is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. In 1914 the women's organisation Sapa Tresna was established to promote the education of women and girls. The organisation was the frontrunner of 'Aisyiyah, affiliated with the modernist Islamic mass organisation Muhammadiyah. The traditionalist Islamic mass organisation Nahdlatul Ulama also established its women's wing Muslimat in 1946, followed four years later by Fatayat for younger women, similarly focusing on women's education and health. These organisations continue to have significant influence today.

The rise of nationalism and the immediate years following independence provided an impetus for women's political participation. Women were also consistently included in government rhetoric to advance the state and their designation of 'weavers of national unity' (Davies, 2005, 232) assigned women the role of mothers of the nation. Throughout the first two decades of independence, women were involved in political parties and encouraged to establish women's organisations (Davies, 2005, 232). These were usually formed along religious or ethnic lines. Some organisations, such as PERWARI (the Women's Association of the Republic of Indonesia), followed a national structure with regional branches whereas others were locally or regionally based (Migunani, 2017, 2).

The period of relative encouragement of women's organisation and political participation came to an abrupt end under President Suharto's New Order regime (1966-1998), as did many other forms of mass organisation and political participation. Like many other forms of social organisation, women's groups at the community level virtually disappeared with the exception of religious groups (such as prayer groups) and the PKK (the Family Welfare Guidance organisation, Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) (Migunani, 2017, 2), which we saw in previous sections were important groups in villages to this day. One or two state corporatist organisations set up by specific districts for economic sectors such as agriculture also sometimes established groups such as the KWT (Women's Farmer Groups - Kelompok Wanita Tani), again, which remained present in a number of research villages.

Only state-endorsed organisations and groups were allowed to operate. Indeed, the regime established state-initiated corporatism in all 'functional' sectors (professions, students, farmers, labourers, fishers, and for women), as one of the key instruments organising and influencing society. These organisations stretched from the national to the village level, many of which also continue to exist today. However, from the mid-1980s and throughout the 1990s some women were involved in broader movements and networks of activists that drew extensively on global human rights movements and feminist ideas, and that sought to counter the regime (Blackburn, 2004, 27-28; Davies 2005).

On the whole, New Order state policy promoted nuclear families and motherhood, in what has been termed *state 'ibuism'* (Suryakusuma, 1987). Women's roles were confined to the domestic sphere, as wives, mothers and managers of the household (Robinson, 2008). At the pinnacle of the policy were official women's organisations Dharma Wanita (Women's Duty), for wives of higher-ranking civil servants, and the PKK with reach into rural areas (Blackburn, 2004). The PKK was established across Indonesia from the early 1970s, under the Ministry of Home Affairs and the direct leadership of the minister's wife.[12]

The PKK became the only organisation specifically for women officially endorsed to work at the village level. With the added political influence of the wife of President Suharto, the PKK leadership structure was established at the provincial, district, subdistrict and village levels. Branches at each level of the PKK were led by state officials' wives. The PKK disseminated the state's official gender ideology, emphasising women's domestic roles. It organised female volunteers in state-led development programs (Blackburn, 2004; Robinson, 1994). During the Suharto era, the PKK aimed to improve standard of living for families in rural areas, through the implementation of literacy programs and establishing maternal and child healthcare groups (Posyandu).

The Posyandu have been widely credited with having a positive impact on maternal and infant mortality and morbidity (Marcoes, 2002; Robinson, 2008). While through the PKK and Posyandu village women became involved in matters of education and health, these organisations were focused on supporting state development priorities rather than the individual and collective empowerment of women. Indeed, these programs and its organisational structure were criticised for being top-down, elite centred, and having a Java-centric bias (Marcoes, 2002, 188). Nonetheless, for the subset of women involved in the PKK, they gained skills in organising and had some degree of collective influence on village politics and life through their family ties and close connections to networks of state officials, within the bounds of what was permissible by the state. Thus, while women did have spaces and organised forms of representation that enabled women to express their voices on certain issues, rarely could such groups influence and change the distribution of power in villages.

Women's collective action post-1998

The end of authoritarianism was a catalyst for increased women's political action (Davies, 2005). New women's networks, unions and other civil society organisations emerged nationally and locally throughout Indonesia, including the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan) established as an independent state organisation in 1998, and many of the civil society organisations discussed in this

[12] The PKK was first established under the name Family Welfare Education by the wife of the Governor of Central Java from 1967 as a formalised version of organic women's groups formed to perform neighbourhood activities (Migunani 2017, 2; Wieringa 1993, 24).

study. Many larger organisations are situated in urban centres and the capital (some with networks of organisations to sub-national regions), while others have been established locally. Some focus on tackling inequities in the broader structures of power through, for example, advocating for legislation and policy changes to support women's political representation, while others are issue focused such as reducing violence and human trafficking (and providing safehouses and legal aid), peacebuilding, improving land rights, health, access to education, and many other issues.

A common theme among these organisations is raising gender awareness and knowledge so that Indonesian women can continue to push for change and seek to influence and change power structures. While understandings and perceptions of what constitutes the Indonesian women's movement vary among women leaders, organisations and activists, ultimately it includes interconnected organisations, broader women's networks and coalitions that seek to change patriarchal structures of power.

Over time the women's movement has made significant headway in improving gender equity through garnering political attention to issues of women's rights and welfare and gaining national and subnational changes to laws, regulations, policies and programs to address the challenges encountered by Indonesian women. As mentioned in Section 2, the UNDP Human Development Index report for 2018 ranks Indonesia as a country experiencing 'medium equality' between men and women (UNDP, 2019). However, such changes have been uneven, particularly for poor women in rural areas, which is the focus of this study.

Changes in state-corporatist groups and institutions

There have also been some changes to organisational structures of existing women's organisations established by the New Order, in the post-1998 era of reform. In 2000, the PKK convened a special national meeting where it changed its name to the Family Welfare and Empowerment organisation (Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga—PKK), stressing 'empowerment' rather than 'guidance' as its key function. Despite the PKK still existing under the Ministry of Home Affairs, PKK leaders are now elected, and the organisation has attempted through national agenda setting to prioritise participation in politics and gender equality (Kurniawati, 2015, 45).

However, the PKK remains largely connected to development priorities set by the central government and the degree to which membership represents the diversity of women in villages varies across the archipelago. The PKK receives a set amount between IDR10-15 million (approximately AUD1000-1500) per year, which is distributed to the PKK via the budget transfers to villages but is an allocation outside the specific Dana Desa (Village Fund) transfer under the Village Law. Although, in practice and as was evident in the research sites for this study, sometimes the PKK receives this allocation from the Dana Desa pot (and in some cases additional funding) depending on the dynamics in each village.

The PKK's scope to fulfil its vision of healthy, socially and spiritually virtuous families has recently been expanded through the Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 1/2013. Under this regulation, the Minister of Home Affairs, Governor, District and Village Heads are the head of guidance for the PKK mobilisation team (Ketua PemBina TP PKK) at each respective level. Furthermore, Presidential Regulation No. 99/2017 imposed greater provincial, district, subdistrict and village control over PKK agendas through monitoring and evaluation (Brown, 2019, 17).

As a result of its budget access, and given its larger legacy and organising structure, the PKK (and the Posyandu) continues to command respect (Migunani, 2017, 25), but its influence on village governance,

structures of power, and the reach and diversity of its membership varies significantly across the archipelago as evidenced by this study and others (such as Migunani, 2017). Its traditional focus on promoting women's roles as wives and mothers, has been difficult to change in many places (for further discussion see Section 6). Further, in many instances, at the village level, PKK membership has tended to be dominated by more 'elite' village women (such as the wives of Village Heads). At the same time, some village-level PKK groups (including extension groups of the PKK such as the Posyandu) have undergone a degree of change in some villages so as to create a more diverse membership and to incorporate a broader understanding of gender and women's roles, particularly in cases where the PKK had worked with other organisations to make efforts towards fulfilling their new 'empowerment' agenda.

5.2 Forms and characteristics of collective action

This section revisits how we conceptualise collective action in this research and then distinguishes between informal and formal forms of collective action.

Defining collective action

In their background paper on collective action and women's agency, Evans and Nambiar (2013, 3) define collective action as 'the act of mobilising people around common or shared concerns'. They go on to explain that collective action can:

- be routine or sporadic,
- take place informally or formally,
- be localised or transnational,
- be focused on the articulation of rights or the delivery of services, and
- evolve organically from within a group of people or be established from outside a group of people.

This definition is consistent with the 2017 Migunani study of women's collective action in Indonesia, whose authors defined women's collective action as:

> The formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aims to bring about positive changes in women's lives. Collective action is both the process of working to affect change, [the process] by which voluntary institutions are created and maintained, and the [process by which] groups decide to act together (Migunani, 2017, vii).

The theory of collective action has evolved from its origins in economics to its application in community development (Evans and Nambiar, 2013). In the context of economics, seminal writers such as Olson (1965) were focused on the challenges of people being less willing to actively participate than to reap the benefits of collective action performed by others—often known as the free rider problem. This issue is also raised by Wetterberg et al. (2015, 4) in their study of social accountability tools for citizens to hold service providers in Indonesian healthcare centres to account. They argue that 'citizen mobilisation for collective action' is dependent on participants' capacities and their willingness to participate in relevant activities.

Ostrom and Ostrom (1986) have shown how collective action activities such as cooperative infrastructure, rules and norms supported communities in low-income and rural settings, particularly when the market and the state might have failed to thrive. We certainly saw evidence of these kinds of dynamics in village governance and the other outcomes achieved by village groups in this study. In particular, collective action

has been important in the context of natural resource management in that it theoretically brings about the more equitable sharing of such resources (Pandolfelli et al., 2008).

Whilst collective action can take several forms, the distinction between 'formal' and 'informal' collective action is of particular importance because it is thought that the engagement with these different types of collective action might be gendered (Pandolfelli et al., 2008; Agarwal, 2000).

Formal collective action generally takes place through an organisation or government structure (Evans and Nambier, 2013). These organisations might include microfinance groups, associations to manage natural resources (such as water) or cooperatives (Pandolfelli et al., 2008). In Indonesia, we might see such action in groups and associations and through the participation of individuals and these groups in government structures such as decision-making forums at village and district levels, or the participation of groups in other social influencing structures that shape norms or allocate resources outside the key functionings of the state.

Informal collective action takes place within more 'amorphous social networks' where there is greater flexibility for members to participate according to their changing needs (Pandolfelli et al., 2008, 3). The creation of informal and social arenas is relevant for women's collective action as it allows for reflexive possibilities in which participants can identify everyday problems as well as imagine alternative realities. Furthermore, in creating and through such spaces, women may also disrupt overwhelmingly male-dominated sites of decision making (McEwan, 2005). Hence, in some contexts, it seems that women are more likely to engage with an informal collective action group than a formal one (Pandolfelli et al. 2008; Agarwal 2000). This has been observed in both low-income settings (for example, Agarwal's (2000) research about collective action in rural villages in South Asia) and high-income settings (see Gerard and Kleiber's 2019 study of Norwegian women in the fishing industry).

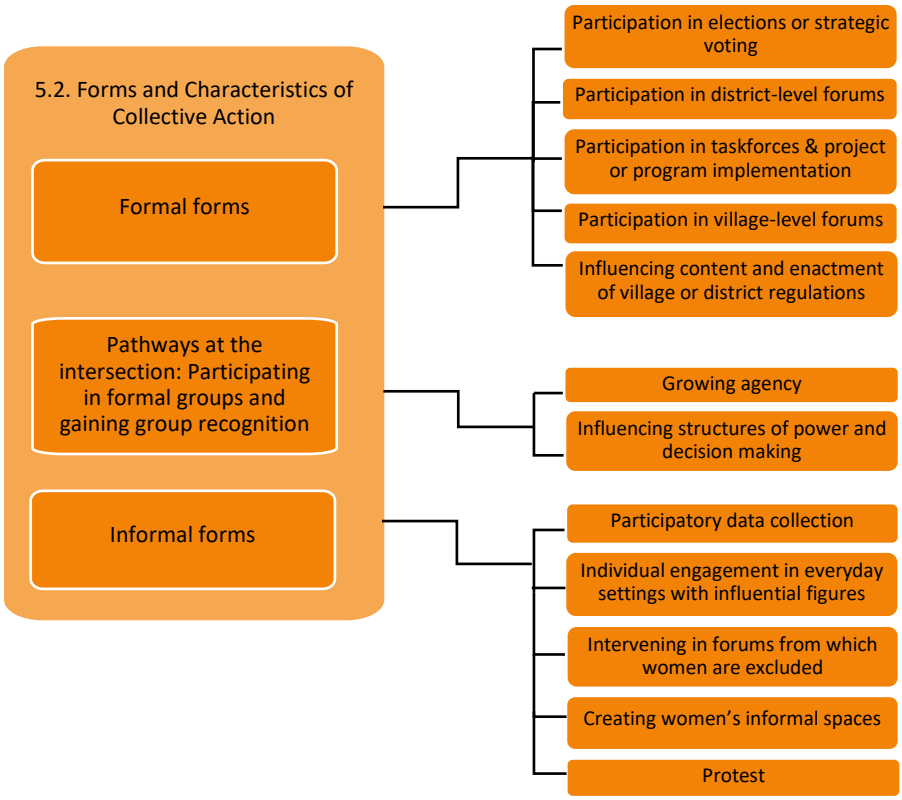
The examples of collective action identified in what were predominantly rural research sites for this study were both formal and informal in nature and often interrelated, overlapping and of different forms in the longer processes of change in women's influence on structures of power and decision making. Formal collective action included formal leadership and participation in governance structures—for example, participation in MusDes (village consultation and deliberation meetings for decision making) and/or Musrenbangdes (village development planning consultation and deliberation meetings), in village and district planning forums and in taskforces to shape and deliver programs and other initiatives.

At the intersection of formal and informal collective action was participation in organised women's groups (discussed further in Section 6), with the goal of collectively improving women's wellbeing. While such participation could be considered formal or informal in light of the definitions above, for analysis purposes for this research, we have treated it separately for analysis purposes, particularly given that support for women's organised groups and activities was a core form of support common to all case studies and CSOs involved in the study.

Women were also engaged in collective action informally, for example through personally lobbying influential and authoritative actors in the district and village governments, and participating in more informal 'spaces for women' and collectivities that did not have the structure of a formal group—such as gatherings at the Early Childhood Education Centre (PAUD). Most importantly, one of the most prevalent forms of women's collective action in rural areas identified in this study were, as we saw in the previous chapter, the ways women accessed and influenced public decision-making spaces via strategically accessing and leveraging social networks with influential social and political leaders. **Often together, women and these**

influential actors undertook a form of *networked* collective action to influence decision-making forums so as to be more gender inclusive and to give attention to women's priorities. We return to this theme at the end of this section, but first, below we analyse the core forms of collective action that contributed to women increasingly exercising power and influence in villages to strengthen their social, political, and economic capacities, improve the wellbeing of themselves and their families, and shape the implementation of the Village Law. These forms are outlined in Figure 15.

Figure 15: Key Forms of Women's Collective Action Discussed in Section 5.2


5.2. Forms and Characteristics of Collective Action
Formal forms
Pathways at the intersection: Participating in formal groups and gaining group recognition
Informal forms
Participation in elections or strategic voting
Participation in district-level forums
Participation in taskforces & project or program implementation
Participation in village-level forums
Influencing content and enactment of village or district regulations
Growing agency
Influencing structures of power and decision making
Participatory data collection
Individual engagement in everyday settings with influential figures
Intervening in forums from which women are excluded
Creating women's informal spaces
Protest

Formal forms of collective action

To varied degrees and with changes over time, village women exercised formal forms of collective action where they directly focused on formal leadership and governance participation. There were several forms of formal collective action undertaken by rural village women, as representatives of, or through, groups, associations and collectivities. These main forms include, among others:

- Participation in, and the running of, elections, and/or strategically and collectively using votes to support particular candidates who are known to be inclusive of women,
- Participation in the decision-making meetings of government and other forums (both village and district-level forums),
- Participation in taskforces, associational networks and program development and implementation initiatives, and
- Providing input into regulations and policies in ways that are of benefit to them.

Formal forms of collective action constitute a form of exercising ***power to*** shape political and policy decisions that affect women's wellbeing, as well as to shift social norms that may constrain their choices and participation in public realms. In finding common ground among people with different interests and building collective strength through participation in the groups discussed above, women have found ***power with*** other group members in the mutual support they provide to each other (See Section 2), and with other actors, groups and associations in shaping the decisions of authoritative structures so as to be more gender inclusive. Each of these forms of collective action is discussed further below.[13]

Participation in elections and strategically using votes

Women have exercised collective action through participation in village and district elections or in strategically and collectively using their vote, again to express their ***power*** together ***with*** others have some influence over political outcomes, although this was not yet common across the research sites.

For example, the leader of the Women's School group in the Pangkajene Islands District research village became so vocal and popular that when news of the successes of the School and her activism reached the district, she was invited to run for a position in the district parliament in 2019. While she was unsuccessful, she was very proud to have run as, in her words, it was something she would never have considered prior to the establishment of the Women's School. In the Tanggamus research village, one of the women leading gender awareness raising activities was planning to (and is still intending to) run for Village Head in the 2020 Village Head elections, although the elections were delayed with the global spread of COVID-19.

In the East Lombok research village, women involved in the Constituent Group mobilised others to use their vote strategically in the Village Head elections to elect the Constituent Group leader (a male initially) as Village Head. He beat the establishment to gain office with the support of these village women (see the boxes on East Lombok in Sections 3 and 4). Village women supported his candidacy as he had proven himself to be interested in combatting violence against women and had also successfully advocated to improve healthcare services in the village by establishing an ambulance service, benefiting the community as a whole. In turn, this enhanced his profile and popular support.

Participation in village decision making

Women's participation in decision-making meetings such as MusDes and Musrenbangdes allows them to bring issues relevant to women's needs to the attention of the village government and to influence the decisions made (i.e. expressing their ***power*** together ***with*** others to shape political and policy decisions). Such participation varied across the research villages—it was rare in the 'control' sites and in a number of the other research villages, although in the case of the latter this improved over time.

In some villages, women's groups had to first ensure that women were able to participate in these meetings. In the Cirebon research village, for instance, initially there was no women's participation in the

[13] As was discussed in Section 2, VeneKlasen and Miller (2002, 39) identify different types of power: Power over—The most commonly recognised form of power, power over, has many negative associations for people, such as repression, wealth, force, coercion, discrimination, corruption, and abuse. Power is seen as a win-lose relationship. Power with—to do with finding common ground among different interests and building collective strength. Power to—refers to the unique potential of every person to shape his or her life and world. Power within—has to do with a person's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge.

Musrenbangdes and rarely in MusDes. As was illustrated in Section 3 in the Story of Change in the Cirebon research village, meetings were held in the evenings and social norms in the village forbid women to be outside the house at night. Women's group cadres lobbied the Village Head to change the time of the Musrenbangdes. The Musrenbangdes was then moved to Sunday afternoon, creating better opportunities for women to participate. They then advocated for funding for a number of women's initiatives and a new Village Regulation.

Once women had better opportunities to participate in these forums, their confidence grew each time they participated to exercise voice and put forward proposals (see also Section 6). In the North Hulu Sungai research village, in their routine Pekka union meetings, members practiced public speaking, which increased their confidence to then voice their interest in village meetings:

> *"Our self-confidence perhaps [increased] after two or three years because of being invited to meetings a lot. Together we learned to speak in the front of the group, one by one… and how to take turns in leading meetings."* Head of Pekka group, North Hulu Sungai research village, 13 July 2019.

They then advocated for the improvement for health services in the village by recommending purchase of equipment for the village Posyandu using the Village Fund.

Similarly in East Lombok, the ability of women to raise issues that matter to them in these forums led to an allocation of funding. The chair of the Posyandu, who is also a member of the Constituent Group, was invited to participate in the Musrenbangdes:

> *"[I was] invited because I am a Posyandu cadre, and also a member of the Constituent Group. [In the meeting] I made recommendations to buy equipment for the Posyandu, [these were] collective recommendations. We made list of what we needed and the village [government] allocated some funds."* Chair of Posyandu and Constituent Group cadre, East Lombok research village, 8 July 2019.

Women's active participation in village meetings also had a ripple effect on their position in the domestic sphere. For instance, in North Hulu Sungai, Pekka members started to participate in the Musrenbangdes where they advocated for the improvement of health services and for training on economic skills to enhance women's ability to generate an income. In being able to generate more income, women also enhanced their bargaining position at home.

Participation in district-level forums so as to influence political and policy decisions

During the research we found many examples in which village women not only participated in governance processes at the village level, but also at the district level to express their ***power*** together ***with*** others so as to shape processes and outcomes, particularly (but not always) after they were able to demonstrate the benefits of their collective action and initiatives in villages.

For example, in Gresik, Women's School members made recommendations to influential district actors to make greater investments in women's health issues as well as education extension programs for women. In Central Lombok, village women have been involved in providing inputs to district-level initiatives to support migrant worker registration and to help respond to challenges that migrant workers encounter. We provide other examples in later sections.

Participation in taskforces, associational networks and program design, and development program and implementation initiatives

Participating in initiatives that contribute to village and district development and service delivery are a way to influence the design and delivery of these initiatives so as to benefit both women and others, to exercise ***power to*** shape processes and outcomes, often together ***with*** others. Participating in these initiatives is also a way for women to build their public profile and legitimacy as influential and authoritative actors who can exert further power in the future. This is particularly helpful for those women unaccustomed to engaging in public-facing activities, especially in places where gender norms confine women to the home.

For example, in Bangkalan in Section 4, we saw the way women like Ati, Nurul and Indah participated in the Village Consultation and Information and Service Clinics (KLIK). This not only augmented their learning and knowledge, it also helped them develop relationships and a public profile in which they became increasingly well-known and trusted. They then used this experience to lobby for further support for verifying and registering religious marriages through government processes. In Labuhan Batu (see Box 21 below), SPI women were active in the multi-stakeholder forum to provide services and support for women and children experiencing domestic violence, which then augmented their influence over and input into the design of the Village Regulation to bolster support for violence prevention.

Village women in case studies in multiple sites also participated in the district taskforces and other forums for the design and delivery of other initiatives and services in health (Cirebon), gender mainstreaming and Women's School replication (Gresik, Pangkep), violence prevention (TTU, Tanggamus, East Lombok), changing customary dispute resolution practices (TTU), migrant worker protection (Central Lombok), and many others.

Taking these kinds (and others) of public-facing roles also provides role models for other women and helps break down what might be community perceptions in some villages that women's primary role and skills pertain to managing households—we saw how Mita in Bangkalan, Gita in Central Lombok (see also Section 4) and many other women found ways to pursue both publicly oriented active roles while also having families, with part of their goal being to be role models for others.

However, without the support and back up of groups (that is, ***power with*** others), it is difficult for women to advocate and take on leadership roles alone, especially when this is not the norm. We found two influential women in the Gresik research 'control' site. Whenever villagers were asked if there were any female leaders or influential women in the village, these were consistently the two to whom they would refer. One, the head of the PKK, was generally well respected by men and women in the village—which led to but was also a result of her position in the PKK and the women's religious organisation Fatayat—and had managed to have some, albeit limited influence on Village Law implementation via one proposal for village funding. The other, as people thought back, was a woman who took on the role as the first female Neighbourhood Head in 1999 (and is one of less than a handful of women to have ever held such a role) who didn't have such group support. Villagers struggled to find other examples.

Few questioned the integrity of the PKK Head, particularly given that this particular PKK was made up of a small group of elite women in the village and tended to conform to the gender norms of women as wives and mothers. However, the former Neighbourhood Head had struggled to counter gender norms of the day—many interviewees said that women simply didn't have the capacity to be leaders. She consequently had to

work twice as hard to gain trust and respect on her own, without others to help counter these views. Villagers in Gresik explained:

> *"Yeah, early on there were people that would say that women [didn't have the capacity to be a leader]…I was quite young back then… I heard my neighbour say, 'what would this Female Neighbourhood Head possibly be able to do?'…but there was no need to listen to that, because in the end it turned out she could do the work."* Female villager, Gresik research 'control' village, 9 November 2019.

> *"Yeah, we only knew women could become leaders because Ibu Mafiroh became the Neighbourhood Head. I now know that, and in fact, they are more agile and work faster than the male Neighbourhood Heads do."* Male villager, Gresik research 'control' village, 14 November 2019.

> *"Before, we women were doubtful yeah…[we thought] can we or not?…You know, now that we have seen that she could do it, I know women, you know, even me (!), I could do that work."* Female villager, Gresik research 'control' village, 10 November 2019.

> *"What's the word for it?... Inspiration for us women here".* Female villager, Gresik research 'control' village, 12 November 2019.

These examples highlight the importance of group support for women who begin to emerge as leaders to help overcome the barriers they often encounter.

Influencing the content and enactment of regulations

Women have also engaged in collective action by influencing the content of regulations, again to exercise their ***power to*** shape policies and outcomes, often ***with*** others. For instance, in Cirebon the passing of the 2017 Village Regulation on the Management of Reproductive Health was a result of negotiation between 'Aisyiyah cadres and the village government. The cadres, who at the provincial level had been assisted by academics, took part in focus group discussion meetings to write the regulation:

> *"Apart from [the information] that was gathered by cadres in the first FGD forum, there were additions, consolidation [of the draft], rebuttals [on some clauses] from participants in the second FGD … Once [the draft was] developed, a village government team conducted a public consultation, where they invited the people of the village [to give inputs], because not everyone had participated in the development [of the regulation]. We explained the draft, read out [the clauses] one by one, and asked whether there was any disagreement or rebuttals. After we finished that process, we went on to formalise the regulation. So, yes, these are all the processes involved."* Head Regional Officer, 'Aisyiyah in West Java, 28 February 2019.

In East Lombok, the Constituent Group was also instrumental in the passing of a 2018 Village Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children. Similarly, in Central Lombok, DESBUMI (Villages that Care for Migrant Workers) cadres were involved in the drafting of the Village Regulation No. 4/2015 on the Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers from the Village. For this, DESBUMI heavily relied on the survey it conducted earlier:

> *"From the results of the survey we decided what points needed to be incorporated in the [new] Village Regulation. For instance, how to process [migrant worker] documents, from the beginning to departure. That is the main point of the Village Regulation. So, after we gathered all of the materials, we made the draft [of the Village Regulation]."* Village Secretary, 5 July 2019.

The example from East Lombok also illustrates how various forms of collective action support and strengthen each other—from participatory data collection to formulating the content of regulations.

Pathways at the intersection: Participating in formal groups and gaining group recognition

As was clear from Section 4, a key form of women's collective action was undertaken through women's participation in women's groups, mixed gender groups and multi-stakeholder groups (we discuss these further in Section 6). This occurred in both the 'control' and 'intervention' sites. Participation in such groups, particularly women's groups, in and of itself constitutes a form of collective action for building agency (which is strongly associated with ***power to***—or the unique potential of each person to shape his or her life—see Section 2), strengthening village women's ***power within*** (that being their sense of self-worth and confidence), and making positive changes in women's lives. Exercising agency and making positive changes for women are key aspects of how women's collective action is understood in this study, as such action constitutes a form of the ***power*** exercised ***with*** other women, or what might be considered a form of collective agency. Group participation and action can also be a part of a pathway for women to exercise greater (albeit not exclusive) ***power over*** broader structures in society and in decision making in villages and beyond. Through this pathway, women exercise influence over those structures that influence governance and those structures that shape socio-cultural norms, particularly when groups seek to interact with and seek change in these structures of power (not all groups do, even when they do improve women's wellbeing).

Growing agency

We saw in Section 4 many of the benefits of group participation described by women, many of which also constitute a form of social capital that helps bolster women's agency. This is discussed further in Section 6. As was discussed in Section 3, women in the two research 'control' sites predominantly participated in existing state-corporatist groups such as the PKK and Posyandu, which supported a subset of women in these villages for improved wellbeing within certain confines of gender norms. In other 'intervention' sites, women's groups (and other mixed-groups concerned with advocating for women) were more varied and had more diverse membership, examples of which are provided throughout this report, especially in Section 6. For example, in the case study excerpt on changes in the Cirebon research villages, women in the Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA) group (some but not all of whom are in the PKK), now regularly attend village decision-making meetings.

Influencing structures of power and decision-making

While under the Village Law all community members can participate in MusDes and Musrenbangdes, in many villages in practice, participation in such forums tends to be by invitation only. We saw this in the two research 'control' sites described in Section 3, and it was a common practice in many of the other research villages. Recognising this reality in many villages, what was clear across the research sites was that the more such groups were 'officially' recognised as a legitimate and important groups by government authorities at different levels, the more they were likely to make it on to the invite list to attend decision-making forums or be included in other associations, networks, discussions and multi-stakeholder forums on a range of issues.

For example, in the case study overview of the changes in the East Lombok research village presented in Section 4, we saw how through the formal recognition of the Maju Mele Constituent Group in the Village Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children, the group is now invited to village decision-making meetings. This has similarly been the case in other research villages where groups have been recognised in village regulations and activities driven by these groups have been earmarked for an allocation from the Village Fund via these regulations. We can see such processes are evident too in the case study excerpt of a

larger process of change in Labuhan Batu in Box 21. Here we see two types of groups in action—the Women's Independent Union (SPI) in the village and the multi-stakeholder Community-Based Service (LBK) Forum. Their collective action and wider advocacy led to the establishment of a Women's Care Post, cross-stakeholder collaboration and support for women experiencing violence, the enactment of the Village Regulation to support this collaborative effort and the promise of a Village Fund allocation.

Box 21: A Story of Change in Labuhan Batu—Influencing Change in Reponses to Domestic Violence through Community-Based Forums

In the Labuhan Batu District research village in North Sumatra, village women have sought to influence changes in the way cases of domestic violence are handled and to provide support to women who experience such violence. Factors contributing to high rates of violence against women in the Labuhan Batu research village are varied according to villagers and include juvenile delinquency, child marriage, narcotics use, and the burdens on households in poverty. There are also numerous barriers to handling cases of violence against women, including a lack of safehouses to receive and process complaints of violence in villages and subdistricts, and a lack of collaboration between available services.

The Independent Women's Union's (Serikat Perempuan Independen - SPI) in Labuhan Batu has sought to support women in the Labuhan Batu research village to address some of these challenges through collective action. It supported village women to establish an SPI group at the village level. This village women's union has become the driving force in the advocacy and support for domestic violence victims in the research village. The district-level SPI Labuhan Batu provided gender equity, paralegal and other training for women and others in the village.

The village SPI established a Women's Care Post (Posko) to respond to cases of domestic violence and to provide a safe space for women to engage and gain support. The head of the village SPI, Yuli, explains the importance of this Post for women:

"In the past people were more afraid to talk about family problems because it was taboo. People were often silent instead of talking, otherwise other people would gossip about it. But after the Posko SPI was established, now if there are small family problems people report them to the Posko. The Posko is a place for confiding [with other women]." Yuli, 13 October 2019.

The village SPI group also built networks with village leaders, in particular with the Chair of the Village Consultative Council (BPD), to advocate for wider support for preventing domestic violence, which was eventually supported by the village government and other influential leaders and groups in the village. Such cross-stakeholder collaboration and collective action resulted in the formation of a Community Based Service (LBK) Forum in 2016, comprised of the village SPI group and key village leaders from the village government, the BPD, as well as religious and community leaders, and other community groups. By establishing the LBK in 2016, SPI members shifted the responsibility for addressing violence against women and children from members of the SPI to it being a joint responsibility of the community. SPI members also invited members of other community groups such as Karang Taruna, the PKK, the Posyandu and as well as religious and youth groups to join.

Increased co-operation between the SPI and the village government was led by leaders like SPI's deputy chair, Tari who began attending village meetings in early-2016. Like many other residents, Tari is a migrant from Bandung, and arrived in the village in 2004. For many years Tari had not been interested in the SPI and preferred to stay at home rather than join community activities. Tari initially came to meetings in 2015 out of a sense of obligation.

"The first time I came to SPI was because I was invited and I thought I had nothing to lose by getting a cake and if the activity was outside the village you could go in a car. But then after a while I understood the material, and I liked it." Tari, Labuhan Batu research village, 13 October 2019.

Tari also attended SPI's training on gender equality and women's rights and quickly became more active in SPI and LBK. Since 2016, Tari has been more involved village decision making and in advocating for and drafting the Village Regulation.

"*We had to come to the village meeting at first with Kak Liana, our leader. And if you came, you had to talk. 'Why not come and just sit', she'd say. I didn't want to go and especially didn't want to talk. I was just lazy and didn't really care. Sometimes I wanted to say something, but my mouth wouldn't say anything because I was already shaking, even if I just thought about speaking. But then I remembered her message. Finally, I began to slowly be brave and speak."* Tari, Labuhan Batu research village, 13 October 2019.

Indeed, cross-stakeholder collective action through the LBK successfully led to the enactment of Village Regulation No. 2/2018 on the Implementation of Protection of Women and Children Victims of Violence under the Village Law, and the promise of a fund allocation from the Village Fund. Tari had a core role in spearheading the collaboration. She was regularly in contact with the Chairperson of the BPD and the Village Head to ensure that the Village Regulation was drafted, ratified (and now implemented) by village government institutions.

In the research village, increased awareness of the prevalence of violence has also led to an extension of the definition of domestic violence in the research village to go beyond physical violence and include psychological violence, such as neglect, and infidelity, although these definitions are yet to be codified in District Regulations.

The SPI in the Labuhan Batu research village (and the District SPI) is also the only organisation collecting data on reports of violence against women and children at the village level and providing paralegal advice to women to take divorce proceedings. SPI receives reports of violence and supports women to take divorce proceedings to the religious court. While women trust the SPI and report cases of violence, these allegations may not be followed up by police.

"The police cannot be relied on here. I can only report to the SPI, although my husband has not changed that much. But the important thing is I have a place to talk. With the Village Regulation too, he was brought to the village office, and they said there is a sanction for violence under the regulations, that there is a fine. If they don't have money, how will they pay?" Gina, Labuhan Batu research village, 17 October 2019.

Gina's experience illustrates the ongoing challenges faced by village women in addressing violence and the ongoing need for deepened co-operation.

Indeed, all of these changes are underway in the village but are not without ongoing challenges. First, the Village Fund allocation for the implementation of the new Village Regulation is yet to be fully released. Second, while the Village Regulation has set up sanctions for perpetrators of violence, its implementation lacks monitoring, particularly when the perpetrators are elite figures in the village, indicating social norms in the village have only partially shifted and have lagged behind the broader institutional changes. Third, collaborations with district government has been hampered by frequent changes to government officials, as is common at a particular point in the political cycle. Nonetheless, this case study shows how village women's collective action, with the support of SPI Labuhan Batu, has played a significant role in effecting change on preventing and responding to violence against women.

Recognition of groups and their activities in formal Village Regulations helps but does not entirely prevent groups from being excluded from decision-making structures. We saw in Juli's experience (see Section 4) in the Pangkep research 'intervention' village that the new Village Head sought to exclude the Women's School group who had previously been regularly invited to and attending meetings, as it was associated with the prior leadership. Nonetheless, working towards gaining group recognition among authoritative actors has, on the whole, in many places been instrumental in bolstering women's collective action and influence.

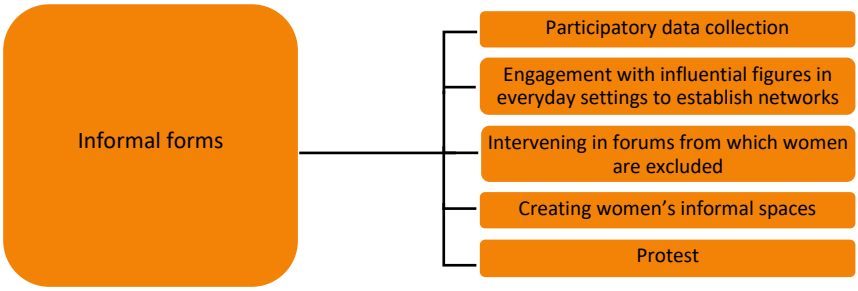
Informal forms of collective action

As mentioned above, informal forms of collective action are particularly important for gender inclusion and women's empowerment. Informal forms of collective action on the one hand were common across the research sites, but on the other were particularly prevalent and important in the most difficult areas in which social norms or other barriers often prevented women from participating in formal forms of collective action, or because women see informal structures as being more effective (cf. Agarwal, 2000). Regardless, women's

informal strategies may play an important role in social cohesiveness (DeSena, 2000) and in turn, this strengthens women's collective influence across multiple domains, augmenting their ***power to*** and ***power with*** potential to effect change.

In this sub-section, we consider how the women in this research participate in informal collective action through many mechanisms, that range from participatory data collection (with data also being used in more formal decision-making forums to lobby for policy change) to creating informal women's spaces, to the more risky actions of protest or turning up unannounced at decision-making meetings from which women have been excluded. Figure 16 outlines the key forms identified in the research sites. Most pertain to establishing and strengthening informal networks with other women, community members and authoritative actors. As we shall see, such networks are important for activating and driving multiple, interconnected forms of collective action the broader trajectories of change, as women can leverage these growing networks to garner support from others and then undertake further collective action together (discussed separately at the end of this Section 5.3).

Figure 16: Forms of Informal Women's Collective Action


Informal forms
Participatory data collection
Engagement with influential figures in everyday settings to establish networks
Intervening in forums from which women are excluded
Creating women's informal spaces
Protest

Participatory data collection, knowledge generation and using data in lobbying actions

Women engaged with the village government by collecting data on pressing problems in the community and especially those experienced by women. This not only gave women a better understanding of the challenges encountered by, and issues important to, other women and community members, it also constitutes an informal form of collective action as women engaged in this themselves. Participatory data collection furthered their own knowledge (augmenting their ***power within***) and in the process of collecting data provided a mechanism by which women could relationships with villagers to influence village decision making (augmenting their ***power to*** **and** ***power with*** potential). Women also later used the data both their formal collective action (such as in putting forward proposals in Musrenbangdes), but also in their informal lobbying activities to persuade authoritative actors to support their initiatives. For instance, DESBUMI cadres in the Central Lombok research village conducted a survey on the experiences and issues of migrants. The outcomes of this survey were relevant to DESBUMI, but also to the village government:

> *"The presence of the DESBUMI is really helpful for the village government. We didn't have data, but now we do. At first, people would not report who is going to [travel] as migrant workers, but now they report through the village [government]. This includes the cases in this village whose [travel and registration] has been supported and facilitated by DESBUMI cadres. So those are the benefits [for the village government]. We don't have to spend money and have less work. They are really helpful. Those things are supposed to be the responsibility of the village, but DESBUMI cadres handle that now."* Former Village Head, Central Lombok research village, 7 July 2019.

> *"We let people know that we had surveyed the village and that there were 300 migrant workers. That's the result of the survey. And, [this process] also raised awareness that there are cases [of migrant workers experiencing problems] from the village that I didn't know about before."* Panca Karsa field coordinator, 2 July 2019.

Similarly, through their involvement in Information and Consultation Services Clinics (Klinik Layanan Informasi dan Konsultasi - KLIK), Pekka union cadres in the Bangkalan research village collected data on priority needs of the people in the village, namely vital life documents required to access social protection programs. During data collection, they also raised awareness of the people about the importance of such documents for citizen legibility and accessing programs and services. The collected data was provided to village officials and used as a means of lobbying the village officials to allocate some of the Village Funds for marriage certificate processing. To facilitate this, the village government enacted the new Village Regulation to provide free services for marriage certificates.

> *"After KLIK, we conducted a village discussion, as a follow up to the data that we collected. We asked the Village Head and Hamlet Head, 'what are we going to do with the data?'. We then had a village discussion meeting involving Pekka union cadres, public figures, religious figures, village members, the Village Head, and the Hamlet Head. Everyone was there together… So now, when people need to ensure their marriage has been legalised, the Village Head first filters them [the applicants], because the prodeo services are only for those who are poor, we don't provide services to those who can afford it."* PEKKA Head Bangkalan, 25 February 2019.

Through these surveys, the legitimacy of the women's groups (and supporting organisations) was enhanced. This subsequently influenced the willingness of village governments to involve women in the village meetings.

Everyday informal engagement with influential figures to build relationships and networks

Women also engaged in collective action by approaching key, influential figures in the village government, the Village Consultative Council (BPD), the Village Head, social leaders, and other influential community figures, often in informal settings and through everyday interactions. This helped to establish relationships and networks with these actors with which to garner support for their initiatives over time. Essentially, women were finding informal ways to exercise ***power with*** others so as to create positive changes for women.

For instance, in East Lombok women met with the Village Head in his office and house, outside of formal meetings (i.e. Musrenbangdes) to discuss water supply issues. In Pangkep, women met the District Head at a café to discuss women's issues. In Labuhan Batu, Women's Independent Union members built strong informal relationships with BPD members, which were important for later *networked collective action* involving both women and these leaders discussed at the end of this section.

Through these informal approaches, key figures in government became more familiar with the CSOs and women's groups and in turn proved to be more responsive towards issues raised by them. Furthermore, these groups often built the confidence of women to engage with influential actors, and in so doing this forms a stepping-stone for women's informal engagement with village governance processes:

> *"We often chat directly [with the Village Secretary]. If you can chat directly people are relaxed."* DESBUMI Cadre, Central Lombok research village, 6 July 2019.

Intervening in forums from which women are excluded

Women also engage in collective action by intervening in processes where they have not been included as a way of accessing forums in which villagers exercise ***power over*** decisions. For instance, in Central Lombok, there was one instance where the Village Head forgot to invite the DESBUMI cadres to a meeting. In response, the members decided to just go to the village office:

> *"Well, as the former Village Head knew about our programs, [we thought we should just] relax! If we want to use anything [village rooms and equipment], if we want to conduct training, for example, if we want to use the hall or whatever, then it's up to us. Before, we were always involved in activities and invited to everything. [We thought] if we now need to use a letter [to attend], then maybe he was just forgetful. Before, during the compilation of the RPJMDes [Medium Term Village Development Plan], we were [considered to be] a village institution, [we thought] why have we been forgotten like this? Oh, [given] there was no invitation, 'we will just go', that's what we said."* DESBUMI Cadre, 6 July 2019.

We saw too in Section 4 how Women's School group members in the Pangkep research 'intervention' village turned up uninvited at the Musrenbangdes, after being deliberately excluded. This was a brave act given the Village Head had been overtly hostile to these women.

Creating women's informal spaces

The informal spaces through which women can engage in collective action, are often, but not always an extension of the formal groups in which they participate. Through these informal spaces, women become engaged in collective action to build their wellbeing through building ***power with*** other women in everyday activities. In the research sites, there were many informal spaces in which women gathered, built relationships or strengthened networks and friendships and used these to provide support to each other and to access other forms of social capital and resources. Common spaces included WhatsApp Groups, social media groups, gathering at Early Childhood Education Centres (PAUD), health centres and, among others, often gathering in particular spaces in markets.

Creating such informal spaces also provided the opportunity in many cases for women to build connections more widely with the community. For instance, the DESBUMI in the Central Lombok research village raised awareness on safe migration and heard complaints from villagers through everyday conversations between neighbours. DESBUMI cadres then followed this up with the village government. Members found this a more effective way to engage with people, as in the village people live close to one another. It was therefore easier to relay information through personal, informal, word-of-mouth approaches rather than through formal events held in the village office. For instance, in Central Lombok DESBUMI cadres meet outside in the absence of having another meeting space:

> *"[At first] we weren't that active, we tried but we didn't have a space to meet in. So in the end, we just met under the jackfruit tree. We didn't have an office, because it was being used by other staff."* DESBUMI Cadre, Central Lombok research village, 6 July 2019.

Such informal spaces were evident in other sites encountered during the research (but which were not the subject of deep fieldwork). For example, in North Lombok District, members of the women's group established by one of KAPAL Perempuan's partners, were quick to act after the earthquake devastated the region in 2018. They took on the leadership of rehabilitation activities and supported many in the village who had lost loved ones and their homes. In gaining funding from the Village Fund during the rehabilitation

efforts, they built a women's meeting centre, in the form of an elevated pavilion right next to the village office. This pavilion is used for women's meetings and childcare. The women explained that they deliberately built it in front of the office and on an elevated platform as a reminder of how integral women were in the village.

Protest

Protest is another form of collective action undertaken by the women's groups in the research villages, albeit rarely and often as a last resort in rural villages as it brings power struggles to the surface and can make social life in villages difficult and fractious for participants. However, in some instances, women's groups have deemed it important. In the Pangkep research village for example, a change in the Village Head saw efforts to side-line members of the Women's School and to renege on commitments to provide funds for activities from the Village Fund made under the previous village government. Group members hung banners outside one of their meeting spaces, directly opposite the village office. The village is small, and villagers must pass by this banner to go about their daily affairs. As was mentioned in Section 4, this act of protest was to embarrass and apply pressure on the village government.

The Panca Karsa Association in Central Lombok initially faced pushback when approaching executive officials at the district level, particularly from the Manpower and Transmigration Agency. The Agency had rejected the idea of developing a District Regulation to protect migrant workers, because it perceived that such a regulation would not help solve migrants' issues. Panca Karsa then brought the idea to legislative members, which responded more positively. They also organised a protest march along with DESBUMI members and the families of migrant workers from five villages, bringing posters and banners to voice their aspirations for the regulation.

> *"There were a lot of things we recommended to raise awareness among the public. It was rowdy, we chanted for the government to accept [the recommendations]. We did a big speech in front of the parliament building, then we were accepted in for a discussion."* Saripah, La Tansa member, Central Lombok research village, 9 July 2019.

> *"In the process of developing the District Regulation, staff and village migrant worker activists were involved in the legislative hearings conducted with the district parliament. There were around 16 people that participated in the hearing, including DESBUMI staff, and the members of the Migrant CARE group [La Tansa]."* Panca Karsa staff, 9 July 2019.

5.3 Patterns in type and intensity of women's collective action

Women engaged in various forms of collective action, both formally and informally, across all research sites. However, patterns can be established regarding the intensity of different types of collective action in the research villages, disaggregated by the different type of contexts, the framework for which we established in Section 3. Figure 17 below, outlines the patterns of different forms of collective action identified in the research villages, not only in the case studies of Stories of Change but also in many of the other forms of analysis of interviews, focus group discussions, women's life histories, village and district context analysis, and observations.

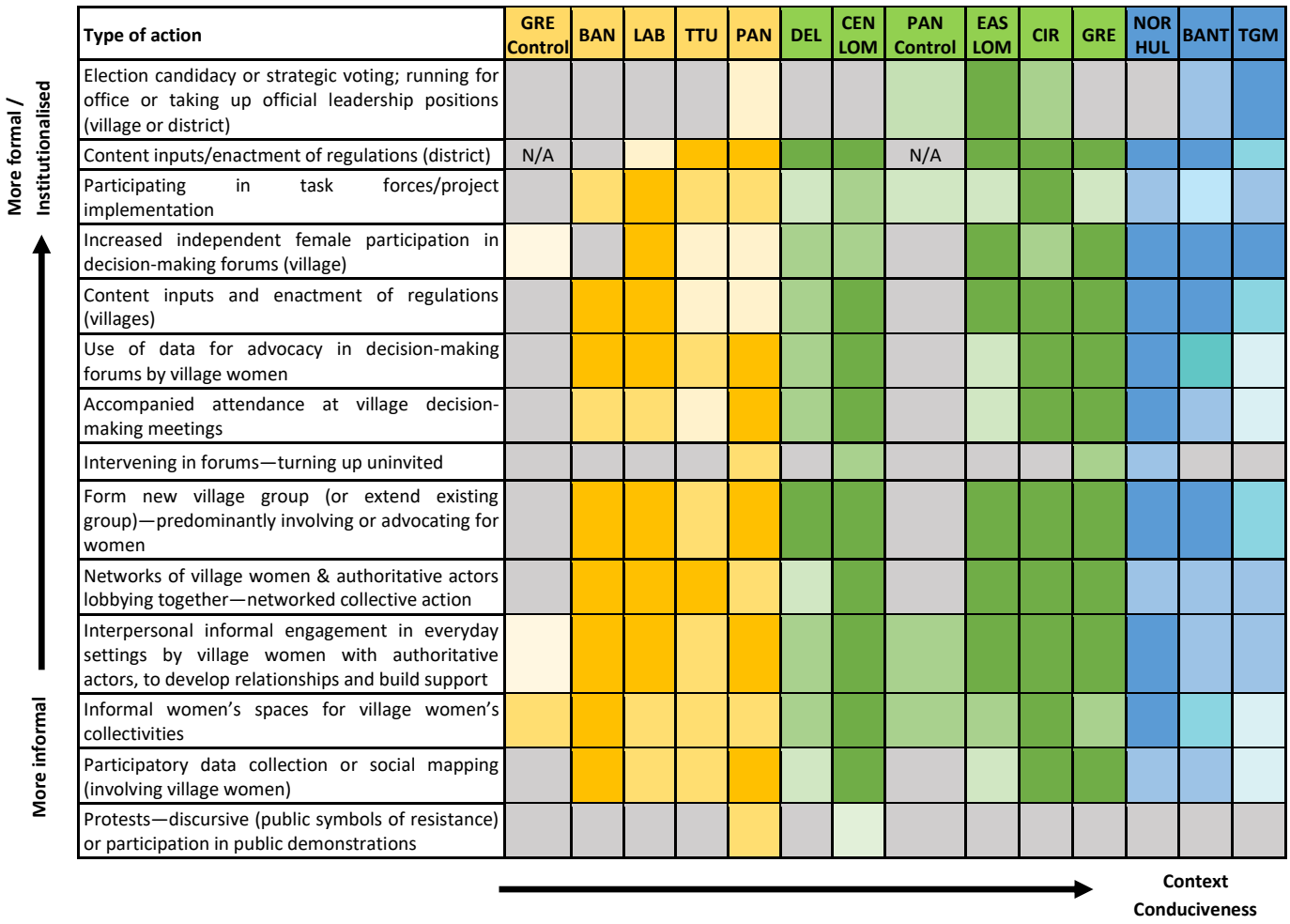
Many of the forms of collective action were interrelated, sometimes sequential, sometimes overlapping and often mutually strengthening in the processes and trajectories of change mapped in villages, especially those that led to women having greater influence on the structures of power and decision making.

In Figure 17, we disaggregate the forms of collective action across highly difficult (yellow), moderately difficult (green) and moderately conducive (blue) contexts. Darker colours indicate more frequent and intense forms of collective action. Grey indicates we did not find examples in the research area across multiple forms of analysis. **The ordering of different forms of collective action should be used as a heuristic tool, as it is debatable which form could be more or less formal. The ordering has been arranged as much as possible to convey, in increasing scale, the degree of direct and formal influence on structures of governance and decision making.**

First, in Figure 17 below, we can see that in the two research 'control' villages that there were more limited forms and intensity of women's collective action across the board in comparison with other villages. We also see that there were more intense efforts in 'intervention' villages to form or extend village groups that in most cases were women's groups (in addition to other groups and multi-stakeholder mixed groups) and in one case was a mixed-gender group with a core focus on women's issues. Common in all sites was also informal spaces for women, with greater or lesser intensity of action.

In Figure 17 it is also evident that the highest diversity in terms of in modes and intensity of collective action can be found in moderately difficult contexts (with the exception of the Pangkep control site), such as Central and East Lombok, as well Cirebon and Gresik. In these contexts, women's formal collective action includes the use of collected data (while we have combined these in the discussion of forms above, we have disaggregated the collection and use here), women's participation in decision making at the village and/or district level, and women's participation the drafting and enactment of regulations to try and create change. In these contexts, we also see a range of informal types of collective action, ranging from informal spaces and personal engagement with influential figures, to intervention in forums. The wide range of forms of collective action evident in these contexts suggests that when there are indications that change might be possible or beginning to occur, collective action intensified. In some ways, despite the difficulties, the environment was a more conducive space for collective action of multiple forms, especially when compared with highly difficult contexts. More importantly, engaging in a wide range of forms of collective action also opens up multiple avenues and strategies for women to exercise their agency and in turn their ability to influence the implementation of the Village Law.

Figure 17: Patterns in the Type and Intensity of Women's Collective Action, by Village



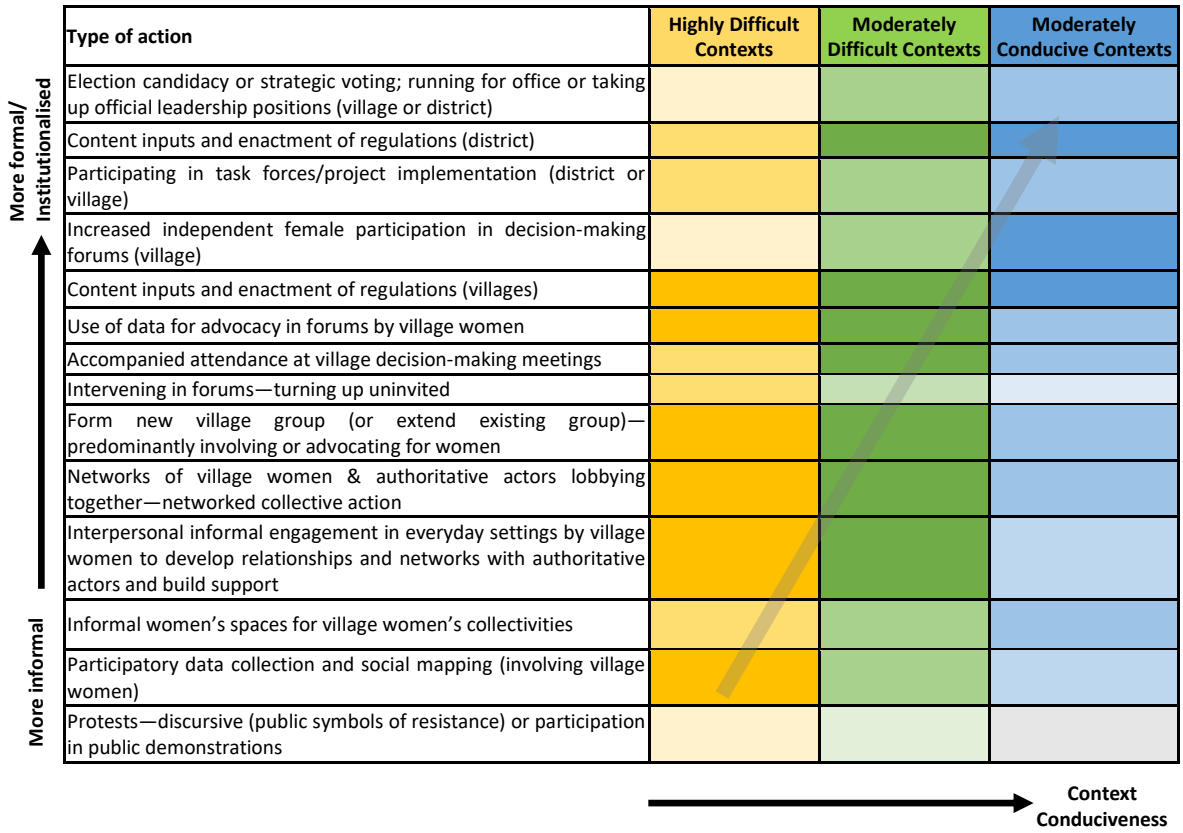
Type of action	GRE Control	BAN	LAB	TTU	PAN	DEL	CEN LOM	PAN Control	EAS LOM	CIR	GRE	NOR HUL	BANT	TGM
Election candidacy or strategic voting; running for office or taking up official leadership positions (village or district)														
Content inputs/enactment of regulations (district)	N/A							N/A						
Participating in task forces/project implementation														
Increased independent female participation in decision-making forums (village)														
Content inputs and enactment of regulations (villages)														
Use of data for advocacy in decision-making forums by village women														
Accompanied attendance at village decision-making meetings														
Intervening in forums—turning up uninvited														
Form new village group (or extend existing group)—predominantly involving or advocating for women														
Networks of village women & authoritative actors lobbying together—networked collective action														
Interpersonal informal engagement in everyday settings by village women with authoritative actors, to develop relationships and build support														
Informal women's spaces for village women's collectivities														
Participatory data collection or social mapping (involving village women)														
Protests—discursive (public symbols of resistance) or participation in public demonstrations														

In highly difficult contexts, such as North Central Timor, Bangkalan, Labuhan Batu, and Pangkep (the Pangkep research 'intervention' village) there were far less opportunities for women's groups to engage in different forms of more formal collective action, as in many instances direct action remained risky (even dangerous) in what were often highly repressive environments, or came with significant concerns of social exclusion from small, tight-knit communities. However, even in these challenging environments women found ways to engage in collective action, particularly informal forms of collective action, with the more formal forms of collective action tending to be spurred by support from CSOs. Through informal women's spaces a sense of belonging and community was fostered among women, thereby providing a basis for other forms of women's collective action. Similarly, in these contexts, data collection activities gave women a way to directly engage with pressing issues in their villages in a non-confrontational way, while at the same time providing practical information to the village government. In turn this provided the more formal women's groups with legitimacy in the villages, which was crucial for them to develop their activities. As with the moderately difficult contexts, seeking new everyday interactions with other authoritative social and political actors outside the group was important for building trust and getting to know these actors for later support and networked collective action.

Meanwhile, in moderately conducive contexts (Tanggamus, North Hulu Sungai and Bantul in Yogyakarta), collective action was increasingly more formal. North Hulu Sungai was considered moderately conducive because of the openness of the leadership at multiple levels of government to improve gender inclusiveness, but nonetheless also saw a range of informal collective action to bolster this process.

Although the extent of collective action varies by context, many of the forms were mutually reinforcing. When we condense these patterns to revisit the most common forms of women's collective action in each type of context (see Figure 18 below), we can see that the intensity of more informal forms of women's collective action is most prevalent in the highly difficult contexts, with the more formal forms of action being more readily accessible in terms of intensity in the moderately difficult and conducive contexts. Protests were rare in all research 'intervention' villages, participating in taskforces and project implementation had a similar degree of mid-range intensity, and providing content into and focusing on enacting regulations was significant everywhere, a strategy which was often driven by supporting women's CSOs (see Section 7).

Figure 18: Patterns of Forms and Intensity of Women's Collective Action, by Type of Context



Type of action	Highly Difficult Contexts	Moderately Difficult Contexts	Moderately Conducive Contexts
Election candidacy or strategic voting; running for office or taking up official leadership positions (village or district)			
Content inputs and enactment of regulations (district)			
Participating in task forces/project implementation (district or village)			
Increased independent female participation in decision-making forums (village)			
Content inputs and enactment of regulations (villages)			
Use of data for advocacy in forums by village women			
Accompanied attendance at village decision-making meetings			
Intervening in forums—turning up uninvited			
Form new village group (or extend existing group)—predominantly involving or advocating for women			
Networks of village women & authoritative actors lobbying together—networked collective action			
Interpersonal informal engagement in everyday settings by village women to develop relationships and networks with authoritative actors and build support			
Informal women's spaces for village women's collectivities			
Participatory data collection and social mapping (involving village women)			
Protests—discursive (public symbols of resistance) or participation in public demonstrations			

Networked collective action

Across the research sites, but most intensely in the most difficult contexts, a range of collective action processes, particularly driven by women's efforts to establish relationships and networks of trust with authoritative actors with influence over governance processes and social norms, contributed to what this research identifies as women's *networked* collective action. That is, the efforts of women and other actors take to collectively endeavour to influence governance, development, policy programs and structures of power to be more gender inclusive. ***Networked collective action*** involved women building or strengthening networks of trust with other women (through groups and informal spaces), and with other community members, especially authoritative actors, often through engagement in everyday settings. It then involved women **leveraging their newly-established or existing networks** to garner support.

Such support then created **multiple sources of pressure** on authoritative actors and ultimately decision-making forums and other power structures, so as to influence outcomes. Such processes were also helpful for overcoming challenges, particularly resistance to gender inclusiveness among authoritative and

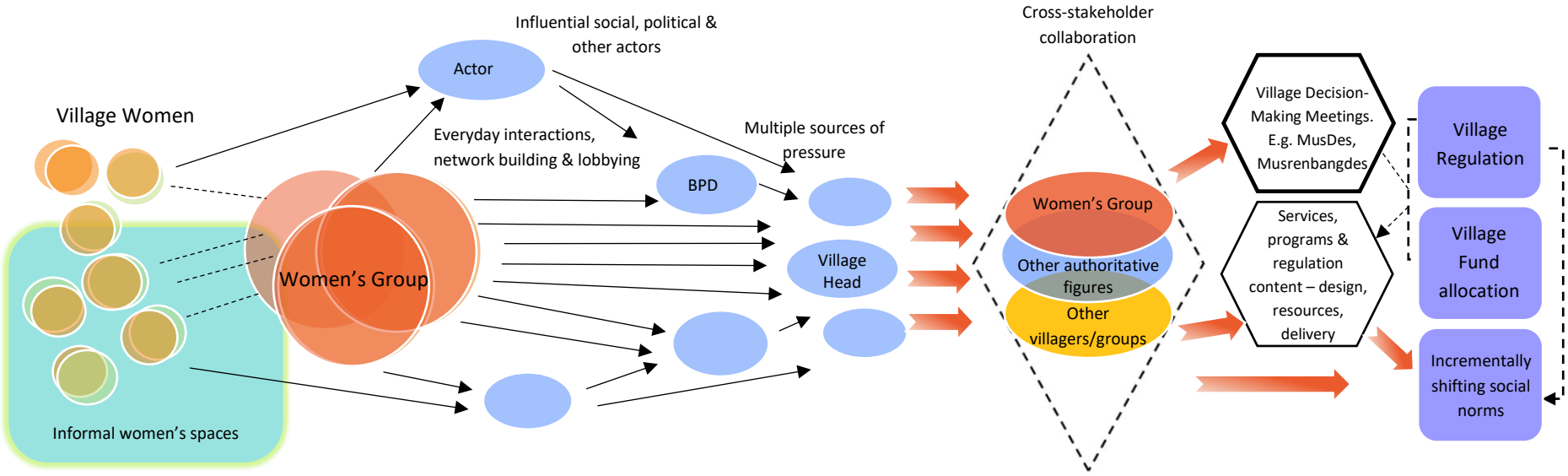
influential figures. Women's informal spaces and more formal groups bolstered this process by extending networks, providing a new arena in which to build individual and collective agency through shared knowledge, skills and resources, providing mutual support and a source of protection, and fostering a sense of solidarity and collective agency.

In some cases, cross-stakeholder pressure manifested through these networks alone, and in other cases was formalised through establishing multi-stakeholder groups or forums involving village women, other community members, and often, influential leaders from within and beyond the village. Such groups and forums further strengthened these cross-stakeholder networks and provided some of the same kinds of benefits of groups mentioned above—shared resources, knowledge and skills. When such forums (and other women's groups) were formally recognised and became embedded in the village through regular activities, this often provided the mechanism for further legitimising the women's agenda, giving it greater continuity beyond electoral cycles or the tenure of particular individuals leading the cross-stakeholder forum.

We can see these interconnected processes play out in the case study excerpt of the Labuhan Batu research village Story of Change (see Box 21 above) and through other analysis of how different types and forms of collective action were interconnected, and how networked collective action was a part of this story. In the Labuhan Batu research village, while the Village Head was reasonably supportive of the formation of the SPI in this village, the 'formal' process was significantly delayed because it wasn't deemed a priority for the village. Recognition of the group was important for being able to conduct activities unencumbered, particularly those involving other villagers, groups and members of the village government itself. Thus, village women leveraged the support of the Chairperson of the BPD and others to create additional sources of pressure on the village government to speed up the process. Once the group was 'officially' formed, it undertook a series of training and other activities on gender awareness, and issues related to domestic violence involving village leaders and all manner of other social groups in the village.

Gradually through these knowledge sharing activities, support was garnered to establish the cross-stakeholder LBK (Community-Based Services Forum), made up of SPI women, village leaders and many other groups in the Village. Continuous lobbying both from SPI and through cross-stakeholder collective action via the LBK, successfully led to the enactment of Village Regulation No. 2/2018 on the Implementation of Protection of Women and Children Victims of Violence under the Village Law, and the promise of a fund allocation from the Village Fund. The Deputy Chair of the village SPI had a core role in spearheading the collaboration. She was regularly in contact with the Chairperson of the BPD and the Village Head to ensure that the Village Regulation was drafted, ratified (and now implemented) by village government institutions.

Figure 19: A Process of Networked Collective Action, Drawing from the Labuhan Batu Research Village



We can also see these processes play out in the Bangkalan research village Story of Change in Section 4. Women developed networks and garnered support for forming the Pekka union and for other initiatives through prayer meetings and other informal spaces. Key women drew on, strengthened and built networks with authoritative figures through every activity and each new initiative, including through providing services such as verifying and registering religious marriages in government-recognised processes. On seeing the benefits of the Pekka union KLIK activities, the village authorities and the wider community increasingly supported these women's initiatives and ultimately the design and ratification of a new Village Regulation on Marriage Verification, for which Pekka women also secured a Village Fund allocation. This was achieved even though this research village was, at the onset, a significantly difficult environment for raising issues important to women and in terms of women's influence on shaping village development.

Sometimes, when progress slowed in villages, women's group members, with the support of a CSO would tap into district networks that they had established to garner support to move village agendas forward. In the Gresik research 'intervention' village, members of the Women's School (Sekolah Perempuan) group had already participated in the Musrenbangdes, but their priorities were not initially accommodated by the village government in the budget allocation; instead, as is common, infrastructure was prioritised. The women involved in the Women's School group then shifted their attention to the district government and lobbied for support. The district government—which had committed to supporting the Women's Schools—exerted pressure on the village government. In light of the multiple sources of pressure—particularly from influential district actors—the village government allocated some funding to the group. At the district level in Gresik, Women's School group members also made recommendations to influential district actors to make greater investments in women's health issues as well as education programs for women.

In the Tanggamus research village (see Box 22 below) and many of the other villages, we also see evidence of these interacting and mutually strengthening processes of women's collective action, including leveraging cross-stakeholder networks and creating multiple sources of pressure for change through multi-stakeholder networked collective action so as to increasingly address and focus on issues important to women in villages. In Tanggamus, there was little resistance to this agenda, in fact it was strongly supported by authoritative figures such as the Village Head, which sped up the process. The case shows how increased gender awareness, knowledge dissemination, strengthened networks and collaborative collective action between village women, village leaders and supporting CSOs, led to change in the implementation of the Village Law. A new Village Regulation was enacted, guaranteeing a Village Fund allocation to support the village-level task force to track data on and respond to cases of violence against women and children, which was a priority issue for women in this village.

Box 22: A Story of Changing Gender Awareness in Tanggamus— A New Village Regulation and Guaranteed Village Funds to Support Women and Child Victims of Domestic Violence

"There are a lot of changes and there were many things which I didn't understand before. Before, I thought that men really were number one, that there were men and then there were women." Sulis, FAKTA-DAMAR cadre, 12 July 2019.

In Tanggamus District, the maternal mortality rate is in the top five out of the 15 districts in Lampung Province. In 2014, The DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute sought to respond to this and other issues, including the lack of institutional support in Tanggamus for responding to violence against women in the district and insufficient education about reproductive health and rights. Together with its district partner FAKTA, DAMAR conducted social mapping in the Tanggamus research village to establish priority areas, which revealed a widespread lack of awareness of women's reproductive health rights.

"Through our research in 2014, we saw that women's awareness of their own bodies was very low. There are many practices that mean women do not have autonomy over their own bodies. For example, in cases of sexual violence, sometimes women cannot choose if they want to continue a pregnancy, or sometimes they are forced to be married. These decisions are often made by religious leaders." Director of the DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute, Bandar Lampung, 18 July 2019.

Village women leaders have played a crucial role in encouraging participation in FAKTA-DAMAR gender awareness classes. Initially, DAMAR invited a number of prominent village women to first participate, who then invited their friends, particularly from religious groups to join. These women then invited others in their networks to also learn about concepts of gender, gain more information about sexual and reproductive health, and to map women's problems and decision-making processes. Separate gender mainstreaming classes were also held for community leaders, village men and youth to better understand gender dynamics.

One participant, Mariana, described their approach to encouraging women to participate in the Mothers' Class (Kelas Ibu) through informal networks.

"We had to persevere. We used formal invitations first. We went door-to-door introducing FAKTA-DAMAR. After a while, most people learned [about us] by word of mouth. We had to be patient at the start, we had to persevere and promote that DAMAR was sharing good knowledge with us, then we told our neighbours. Slowly, then they started going themselves." Mariana, FAKTA-DAMAR cadre, Tanggamus research village, 5 July 2020.

Sulis, who shares her experience at the beginning of this case study excerpt of participating in the Mothers' Class, described how she shared materials she had learned in the class and her new understanding of gender and equality with her husband. Similarly, a participant in FAKTA-DAMAR's Young Women's Class (Kelas Remaja Putri) reflected on the importance of specialist classes, which helped her and her family understand the difference between gender norms and a religious understanding of sexual difference (*kodrat*).

Such gender awareness and growing collaborations between groups and networks produced a cross-group collective movement to handle cases of violence against women and children, which was then formalised into a Taskforce that runs a Post for the Empowerment and Protection of Women, Children and Families. This Taskforce and the 'Post' is run by village community leaders, especially women, who put into action the knowledge and skills they gained from gender mainstreaming classes. The Taskforce aims to provide a safe space for women through the 'Post', and an avenue to report, handle, and collect data on acts of violence against women and children in the village.

The safe space created by the Taskforce through the 'Post' has succeeded in supporting women to feel comfortable in disclosing and reporting cases of violence and to receive medical treatment and social services. Through advocacy efforts by village women and village leaders, together with DAMAR and FAKTA-DAMAR support, this Taskforce was then formalised through Village Head Decision No. 30/2018 which paved the way for receiving a budget allocation from the Village Fund, augmenting the sustainability of its activities.

Members of the Taskforce also liaise with the Integrated Service Centre for the Protection of Women and Children (P2TP2A) and village and district health clinics.

"In [this village] there has been lots of support from DAMAR and now women are not afraid to speak out. Last year there was the case of a female migrant worker who had returned home after a year away. After her husband hit her, she immediately reported it to the Head of Community Welfare, who took her to the Puskesmas to be treated and contacted P2TP2A and the police. This shows that the network acts quickly, if something like that happens, we all respond straight away with care." Village Midwife and Puskesmas Staff Member, Tanggamus Research Village, 8 July 2019.

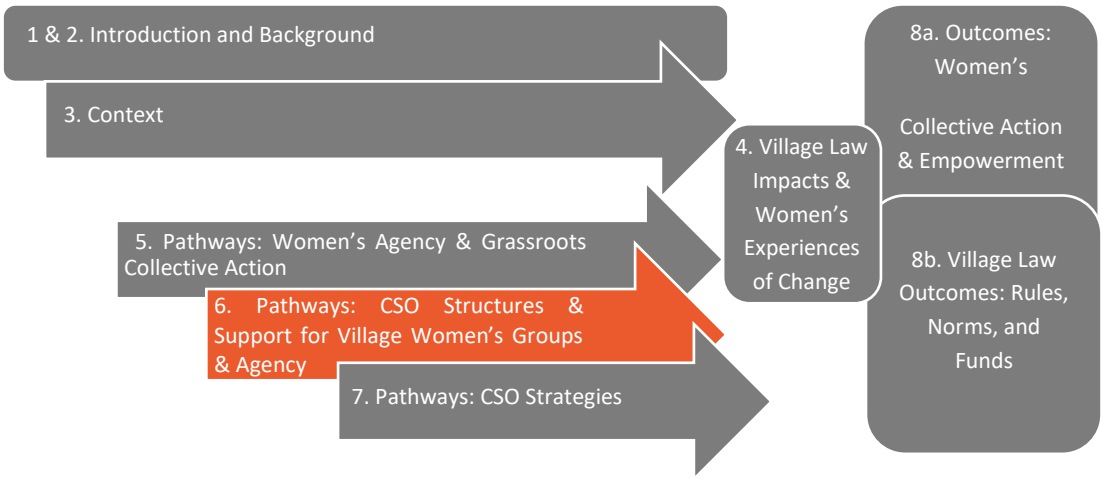
Women in the Tanggamus research village hope that this Taskforce is a starting point for future advocacy on issues of women's sexual and reproductive health and will continue to provide support to victims of violence.

6.

PATHWAYS OF INFLUENCE:

CSO INTERNAL STRUCTURES AND MODELS OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GROUPS AND AGENCY

6. Pathways of Influence: CSO Internal Structures and Models of Support for Women's Groups and Agency


1 & 2. Introduction and Background
3. Context
5. Pathways: Women's Agency & Grassroots Collective Action
6. Pathways: CSO Structures & Support for Village Women's Groups & Agency
7. Pathways: CSO Strategies
4. Village Law Impacts & Women's Experiences of Change
8a. Outcomes: Women's Collective Action & Empowerment
8b. Village Law Outcomes: Rules, Norms, and Funds

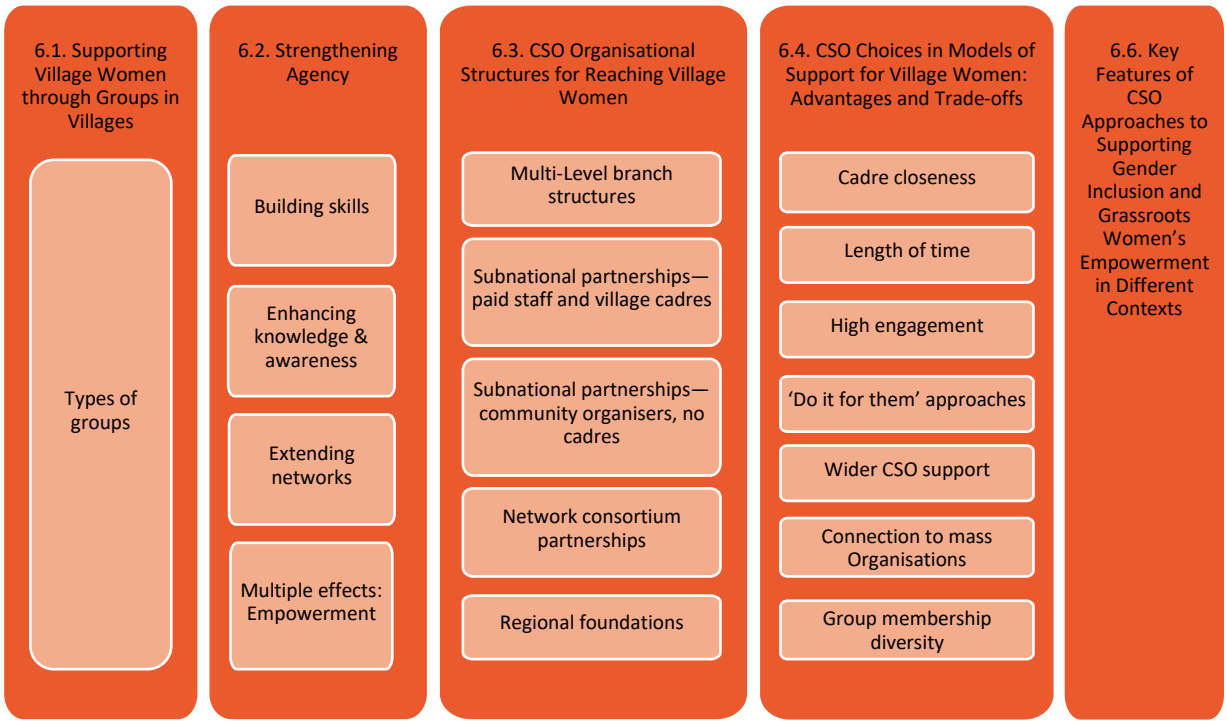
Many of the forms of women's grassroots collective action described in the previous chapter were backed, and partly shaped by the ways CSOs provided support for rural women in the research villages, particularly in the 'intervention' sites. Given that the research draws from a sample of sites where CSOs have sought to support village women (as well as 'control' sites where no such support is provided), **it is important to point out the common approach used by these MAMPU Partner CSOs—working with and through grassroots groups alongside broader advocacy to promote gender inclusion, with the goal of empowering women. This is a particular type of CSO intervention**. Other CSOs may use a different approach or be less focused on the goal of gender inclusion and empowerment, which may have implications for women's collective action that are not explored here.

The findings in this and the next section are nonetheless helpful for all audiences (not just CSOs) in understanding how grassroots women's collective action might be supported by group structures of different kinds that involve women, and how, or via what mechanisms, external actors might help bolster women's influence in villages and beyond. That is, even if not working with CSOs as partners in initiatives to bolster gender-inclusion and women's influence in governance and other power structures, some of the features of the ways CSOs have supported women in the research sites to facilitate or augment their agency certainly constitute important learning for other settings, actors and agencies concerned with gender-inclusive governance, structures of power, and socio-economic development.

This section first examines the groups established or supported by the CSOs involved in the study, again with reference to the Village Law and wider governance impacts. We also explore the ways working with and through groups has facilitated and boosted village women's agency and influence. Even though the MAMPU CSO Partners have in common that they have worked with and though grassroots groups in the research villages, they are nonetheless varied in many other ways, from their sectoral focus, to their organisational structure and other aspects of their models of support for village women. Thus, second, this section also examines the underlying organisational structures of the CSOs involved in the study and variation in the

models and structures of support they provided to village women and other village and district-level actors, organisations and networks. We identify the advantages and trade-offs of these approaches. The core content of this section is laid out in Figure 20 below.

Figure 20: Structure and Key Content of Section 6


6.1. Supporting Village Women through Groups in Villages
Types of groups
6.2. Strengthening Agency
Building skills
Enhancing knowledge & awareness
Extending networks
Multiple effects: Empowerment
6.3. CSO Organisational Structures for Reaching Village Women
Multi-Level branch structures
Subnational partnerships—paid staff and village cadres
Subnational partnerships—community organisers, no cadres
Network consortium partnerships
Regional foundations
6.4. CSO Choices in Models of Support for Village Women: Advantages and Trade-offs
Cadre closeness
Length of time
High engagement
'Do it for them' approaches
Wider CSO support
Connection to mass Organisations
Group membership diversity
6.6. Key Features of CSO Approaches to Supporting Gender Inclusion and Grassroots Women's Empowerment in Different Contexts

6.1 Supporting village women through groups in villages: Influencing village governance

As mentioned, prior to the new or upscaled CSO support provided to village women that this study investigates, in many research sites rural village life was not void of groups and organisations in which women participate that have provided support for village women. Some of these groups certainly sought to improve women's wellbeing, even if they were narrow in focus, small in membership numbers, or had limited reach. However, many of these groups (or significant numbers of women per se), were not necessarily included in village decision-making processes or had influence on village power structures, village development priority setting, and outcomes. Among those that were included, these groups did not necessarily represent the diversity of women's self-determined needs and priorities or have significant influence.

Thus, the MAMPU CSO Partners examined in this study sought to provide support to village women, with the goal of improving gender inclusion and women's empowerment, by either collaborating with existing women's groups so as to diversify and extend the membership and focus of these groups, or by supporting village women to establish new groups (both for women or of mixed gender), among other initiatives. These groups have provided a platform for women to build relationships and in many cases undertake grassroots collective action to exercise their voice and influence change.

Table 3 below summarises the different groups that MAMPU CSO Partners supported village women to establish in the research villages, or the existing groups they collaborated with, mapped against Village Law impacts. Further information on the full scope of these Partner activities to support village women through different types of groups beyond the research sites is available in Annex 3. In all research villages, the state-corporatist PKK (Family Welfare and Empowerment organisation) and associated Posyandu (maternal and child health groups) were present, and in some villages, there were other women's or mixed-gender groups also present at the onset, although this is not presented in the table. For reference, in Table 3 we also include prominent women's groups in the 'control' sites.

Table 3: Village Groups Supported by MAMPU CSO Partners and Village Law Impacts.

Research village	Women's collective action groups and CSO support	Governance/Village Law Outcome
Conducive contexts		
Tanggamus (Lampung)	The **DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute** has worked with its district partner **FAKTA** (the forum established by the Catholic Church to share health information) in Tanggamus to provide community education on the elimination of gender-based violence to men and women of different ages (teenage boys and girls, and married men and women). DAMAR is a part of the **PERMAMPU** Consortium of women's groups in Sumatra. Training has been conducted with different groups separately. The **DAMAR-FAKTA** partnership made connections with village women in the Tanggamus research village via members of legacy state-corporatist organisations such as the PKK and Posyandu, which are predominantly made up of women.	• District Regulations • Village Taskforce and Post (for Women's Protection) • Village Head Decision, Village Fund allocation • Better access to the district-level Integrated Service Unit
Bantul (Yogyakarta near Central Java)	**Yasanti** (the Annisa Swasti Foundation) has helped homeworkers to unionise in Bantul and has worked with these women's groups to successfully advocate to village and district authorities for formal recognition of these unions through regulations. The homeworker unions have been registered and together, these unions and Yasanti have worked with other villagers to develop new ratified regulations to support homeworkers in the research village.	• Homeworkers Union established, registered and recognised by Village/District Regulations/Decisions • Village Fund allocation to support homeworkers activities
North Hulu Sungai (Kalimantan Selatan)	**PEKKA** (the Female-Headed Families Foundation), through its branch structure and community organisers, has helped village women to establish women's groups (Pekka unions) for female-headed families, which together form a larger network of Pekka union members. Further, through PEKKA's Akademi Paradigta program, women have been trained to become paralegals to help identify problems related to the administration of the population at the village level. Participants in Akademi Paradigta, particularly early on, have often but not always been drawn from women active in state-corporatist women's organisations such as the PKK. Those women who complete the Akademi Paradigta have, among others, been supported to implement PEKKA's 'KLIK' program in their villages. The KLIK program assists people to obtain vital records to increase their legibility as citizens, such as birth and marriage certificates, as well as identity and family cards. In turn, this provides people with access to a wide range of social services and the protection of their rights. In the North Hulu Sungai research village, Pekka union groups were initially organised around social gatherings such as prayer meetings, and maternal early childhood education and health groups (Posyandu, Integrated Health Post).	• Citizen legibility and increased access to government services for the poor through KLIK • New Village Regulation • New welfare based village-owned enterprise (BUMDes) in progress • Village Head Decision—gender inclusive decision-making meetings • District Regulations
Moderately Difficult Contexts		
Gresik, (East Java) and North Lombok (NTB)	**KAPAL Perempuan** (The Institute for Women's Alternative Education) through its network of sub-national organisational partners—such as its local partner in Gresik, **KPS2K** (Women's Groups and Sources of Life organisation)—has supported village women to establish Women's School (Sekolah Perempuan) groups to help empower poor women through education and skills development and strengthening the leadership capacity of its members. Members of the Women's Schools established in many villages in the Gresik District (and in every village in North Lombok), have over time gone on to participate in Musrenbangdes and special development planning meetings for women (Musrenbang Perempuan) in districts, garnering support from the district government to fund and support the scale up and replication of this initiative.	• Village Fund allocation • Increased involvement of women in MusDes and district decision-making forums • Replication of Women's Schools with funding from districts • New District Regulations • Special District Women's Musrenbang
Cirebon, (West Java)	**'Aisyiyah** has supported village women to establish women's groups, known as Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA) at the grassroots level. It has supported group members through many different skills development and information sharing initiatives and also trained a subset of these members as cadres, or village-level organisers. These cadres are usually members of 'Aisyiyah that are given additional training to facilitate activities and grow group membership. About a fifth of these cadres have been involved in village development planning meetings.	• New Village/District/Subdistrict Regulations • Village Fund allocation • Changed times of MusDes • Improved village-level health services • Nutrition garden
East Lombok (NTB)	**BaKTI** (The Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange Foundation) has established 'Constituent Groups' to advocate for the rights of women and other vulnerable groups, and, in particular, reducing violence against women. These are multi-stakeholder forums in villages that include both men and women. These Constituent Groups have been brought together with local	• New Village/District Regulations • Village Fund allocation • Women vote to elect former Constituent Group head (male) as Village Head

Research village	Women's collective action groups and CSO support	Governance/Village Law Outcome
	parliamentarians through the Participatory Recess initiative (first discussed in Section 3) in order to ensure community concerns are included in policy, legislation and regional development planning (MAMPU, n.d.).	• Formal recognition of Constituent Group in Village Regulations • Increased inclusion of women in village and district decision-making forums • Slowly changing norms on intimate partner violence
Pangkajene and Islands (Pangkep)—control village, South Sulawesi	The Pangkep control village had no evidence of CSO interventions, but did have some prior experience of KDP/PNPM. The former Village Head was female (who was replaced by her nephew in the subsequent Village Head election). State-corporatist groups such as the Women Farmers Groups (KWT) and the PKK (as well as the PKK-associated Posyandu, a PKK-organised sewing group, and a PKK savings and loans group; all of which have the same few members as the PKK) were the women's groups/associations identified in this village. Few women were invited to and attend village decision-making forums (one invited representative from each of the PKK, Posyandu, and KWT).	• No Village Fund allocation for women's initiatives • No Village Regulations related to women's priorities • Few women attend MusDes—one invited representative from each of the PKK, Posyandu, KWT • No evidence of new Village Regulations or Village Fund allocations based on proposals put forward by women's groups
Central Lombok (NTB)	**Migrant CARE** has supported the establishment multi-stakeholder organisations in villages known as DESBUMI (Villages that Care for Migrant Workers), which have provided village-based services for both female and male migrant workers before, during and after migration in a number of villages throughout Indonesia. In the Central Lombok research village, Migrant CARE and its local partner the Panca Karsa Association helped villagers to establish a DESBUMI, which was formalised by the village government in 2015. From this group, the women's-only group 'La Tansa' was also formed to support former female migrant workers and their families.	• New Village/District Regulations • Village Fund allocation • New migrant worker integrated service centre—district/village • Some increased involvement of women in MusDes • Slowly changing social norms on child marriage
Deli Serdang (North Sumatra)	In the Deli Serdang research village and others in the district, **BITRA** (Indonesian Foundation for Rural Capacity Building) helped village women to establish women's homeworker unions so that homeworkers could connect to other village union groups and collectively advocate for their rights. The provincial government now recognises these unions and homeworkers are also included on the list for government provided free healthcare from which they were previously excluded. BITRA also facilitated the establishment of a Credit Union for homeworkers and a 'School' for Increasing Women's Homeworkers Capacity.	• Homeworkers Union established and recognised by government at different levels • Inclusion of homeworkers on the list of recipients for free healthcare through the National Health Care schemes (BPJS)
Highly Difficult Contexts		
Pangkajene and Islands District—Pangkep intervention village, South Sulawesi	In Pangkep, **KAPAL Perempuan** has worked with its subnational partner **YKPM** (Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation) to help village women establish Women's Schools (Sekolah Perempuan) groups to support the empowerment of poor women through education, skills development and strengthening the leadership capacity of its members. Members of the Women's School groups established in many villages in the Pangkep District have gone on to participate in special district development planning meetings for women (Musrenbang Perempuan) and have greater inputs into decision making. In Pangkep, the district government has provided funds to support the scale up and replication of this initiative.	• Initial Village Fund access for Women's Schools • Increased involvement of women in district decision-making forums and initially in MusDes • Replication of Women's Schools with funding from districts • New District Regulations • Support and funds for the development of basic facilities—clean water, sanitation facilities, and solar-powered electricity, • Government recognition of fisherwomen
North Central Timor—TTU (NTT)	**FPL** (Forum for Service Providers) and its consortium partner **YABIKU** (the Village Women's Care Foundation) has worked with existing state-corporatist women's groups such as the PKK and KWT to organise women and undertake collective action to reduce domestic violence and change the customary sanctions for violence so as not to adversely affect women. It has also established a paralegal group that addresses cases of violence against women and children and has lobbied the village government to produce a new Village Regulation on Protecting Women and Children from Violence, although this remained in draft at the time of the research.	• New (draft) Village Regulation • New District Regulations • Some deterrents for domestic violence and access to paralegal services for victims of domestic violence • Slowly changing practices in customary dispute resolution that are more responsive to women's needs • Village Fund allocation—stunting (on instruction from the district)
Labuhan Batu (North Sumatra))	**FPL** and its consortium partner in the Labuhan Batu District, the **SPI** (Independent Women's Union), have supported village women through village-level women's 'independent union' groups (village SPI). They have also supported villagers to establish mixed-gender multi-stakeholder forums (Community Based Forums- LBK) in a number of villages in North Sumatra.	• New Village Regulation • Established Women's Care Posts • Established a multi-stakeholder Community-Based Service (LBK) for protecting women & children • Village Fund allocation (ratified but not yet released)
Bangkalan (Madura, East Java)	**PEKKA** has also supported village women to establish Pekka union women's groups in the Bangkalan research village using a similar program to that described above in North Hulu Sungai. KLIK services have also been provided, and in addition to focusing on the verification and registration of religious marriages through government processes, PEKKA and the village women's Pekka group have also sought to support changing social norms related to child marriage.	• New Village Regulation • Village budget (APBDes) fund allocation • Citizen legibility and increased access to government services for the poor through KLIK • Slowly changing social norms on child marriage

Research village	Women's collective action groups and CSO support	Governance/Village Law Outcome
Gresik—control site (East Java)	In the Gresik control village, the PKK existed but was not very active, with only the chairperson and sometimes the secretary or treasurer occasionally attending MusDes (they made only one known women's proposal for a Village Fund allocation for Early Childhood Education over five years). The only other organisational structures that might relate to women were for services (a Posyandu) and religious affiliation (Fatayat), as would be found in most other villages in Indonesia. The Village Head and government were averse to any kind of empowerment program in the village.	• Few women attend village decision-making meetings (only on invitation—PKK leadership) • One infrastructure project (Early Childhood Education centre) proposed by the PKK

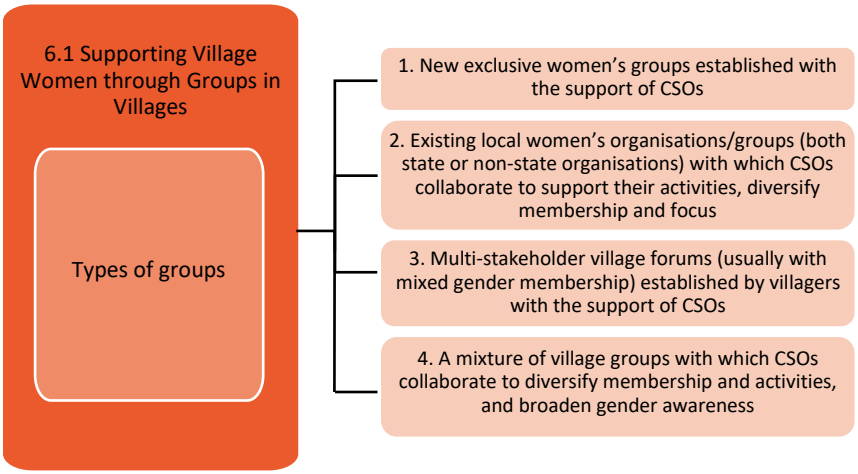
In each case in the research 'intervention' villages presented in Table 3 these CSO-supported groups and networks involving women have significantly influenced village governance under the Village Law, and in many cases, district government structures and policies. In the two research 'control' villages (no CSO interventions), there was only one example of similar outcomes in funding the construction of Early Childhood Education facilities proposed by the PKK in the Gresik 'control' site. As mentioned in Section 3, in the Pangkep 'control' site, the new Village Head had appointed three women to the village government since being elected, but this was predominantly because they were family members rather than to improve gender inclusion per se. In both 'control' sites very few women have been involved in village governance and decision making.

The groups that CSOs supported women to establish provide a basis for activities to strengthen the opportunity for women to build networks, have a structured group for collective action, and to better exercise agency, including building the skills, knowledge, networks and gender awareness of women (discussed further below). For instance, in Bangkalan, PEKKA has sought to enhance women's leadership by organising trainings for Pekka union members on public speaking, the building of constituent and community groups as well as developing administrative capacity (in governance and budgeting). Similarly, in Gresik, KAPAL Perempuan and its partner KPS2K have supported the Women's School group in providing its members with trainings on public speaking, literacy skills (writing), advocacy, parenting, reproductive health, and agricultural skills. In East Lombok, BaKTI has provided paralegal training to eliminate violence against women. In Cirebon, through BSA, 'Aisyiyah has provided women with trainings on reproductive health. The activities of these CSOs and others have been aimed to empower women and have thus targeted both the development of women's political participation (that is: public speaking, knowledge of governance structures) and support for women to meet their social and economic needs.

Types of groups

In the study, we identified different types of groups involving women through which MAMPU CSO Partners sought to support village women. These are presented in Figure 21. Each is then described below.

Figure 21: Types of Groups Supported by MAMPU CSO Partners


6.1 Supporting Village Women through Groups in Villages
Types of groups
1. New exclusive women's groups established with the support of CSOs
2. Existing local women's organisations/groups (both state or non-state organisations) with which CSOs collaborate to support their activities, diversify membership and focus
3. Multi-stakeholder village forums (usually with mixed gender membership) established by villagers with the support of CSOs
4. A mixture of village groups with which CSOs collaborate to diversify membership and activities, and broaden gender awareness

1. Supporting village women to establish new exclusive women's groups

Many of MAMPU's partners supported village women to set up new groups in villages with exclusively female membership. This includes the Women's School groups in Pangkep and Gresik established with the support of KAPAL Perempuan at its partners, Pekka unions in Bangkalan and North Hulu Sungai, Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA) women's groups in Cirebon, and the 'La Tansa' women's group established with the support of Migrant CARE and its partner, the Panca Karsa Association, in Central Lombok. The advantage of having just female participants in these groups it that it provides women with a safe space to try new activities and boost their confidence. Over time, such groups allow women to form strong networks and a culture of solidarity. Women support each other, are sensitive to each other's needs, and become problem-solving teams, as they have often had similar experiences or face similar challenges. One example of an all-women's group is outlined in Box 23 below.

In some instances these new groups were not entirely separate from existing groups in villages, in that such groups initially drew from the membership of existing groups at the onset as a way of building trust and confidence of villagers in new activities focused on women, such as the BSA groups established by 'Aisyiyah and Pekka unions (see further discussion below; working with existing local women's groups). In supporting women to create new groups that draw on other groups initially, but then expand the membership of these new groups over time, these new women's groups have become more diverse and distinct from the initial set of members.

Box 23: Informal Women's Schools (Sekolah Perempuan)

Two partners of KAPAL Perempuan—YKPM in Pangkep, and KPS2K in Gresik—supported village women to establish Women's Schools as part of a KAPAL Perempuan gender mainstreaming program. The organisations aim to educate village women on a range of topics about gender and empowerment, including women's leadership and women's rights. They also encourage women's active participation in monitoring government programs, particularly education, healthcare and social protection programs. Along with gender awareness classes, KPS2K and YKPM have delivered training programs to Women's School groups on economic capacity building and poverty mapping. As the training might affect participants' opportunities to work that day, KPS2K in Gresik adapted their schedule and now runs classes after women have returned from work.

The impact of these training programs has been significant as women have increasingly sought improvements in village development and to demand the better provision of services for the wellbeing of themselves, their families and

communities. We saw in Section 4 how after the training, Juli, a member of the Women's School group in the Pangkep research village, became very active in monitoring the attendance of her child's teacher at school each day as they were frequently absent. Other Women's School members protested the frequent absence of midwives in their maternal and child health clinics (Posyandu).

2. Collaborating with existing local women's organisations/groups

Some of the MAMPU Partners—particularly consortium member organisations (MAMPU CSO sub-partners) throughout the archipelago in the FPL (Forum Pengada Layanan, Forum for Service Providers) and PERMAMPU (Consortium of Women's Organisations in Sumatra) networks—have collaborated with existing women's groups and organisations. These existing groups include both state-corporatist and non-state organisations and networks with village-level presence, including the women's wings of religiously-affiliated institutions such as the Muslim organisations NU and Muhammadiyah, and Catholic women's organisations. They also include the PKK (and its associated group, the Posyandu) and other state-corporatist groups.

The advantage of collaborating with existing women's organisations is that it opens up access to village women more widely. Existing women's groups and organisational networks often have routine programs and meet regularly. CSOs can incorporate their programs into existing activities and slowly build trust with village women, particularly when they enter villages with which they do not have established relationships. The trade-off in this approach, however, is that without careful and close attention to ensure diverse membership, there is the risk that diversity of group membership is restricted by these collaborations and diverse women's needs are not represented, although in the case of the research 'intervention' sites in this study, that tended not to occur.

<u>The PKK</u>

The strong historical presence of the PKK was evident across all research sites, although the level of engagement of the PKK in each village differed significantly. In North Hulu Sungai, for instance, the PKK in the village has depended on activities organised by the PKK in the subdistrict. This has made it more difficult for village women involved with the PKK to access these activities. In the Bangkalan research village, the PKK did not organise many activities with the exception of events on national holidays (i.e. Independence Day).

Similar to the research 'control' villages, PKK activities in many of the other research sites mostly focused on women's domestic roles, for instance in offering classes on makeup, gardening, *batik* (dyeing cloth and other textiles in intricate forms) and cooking. In Cirebon and Tanggamus for example, the activities of PKK and Posyandu cadres focused on women's traditional roles, such as infant care and cooking. In other villages, the activities were wider and focused on some livelihoods skills and resource sharing through savings and loans activities, although this was only found in one or two instances across all the research sites and, as was the case in the Pangkep control site, mainly elite women participated.

> *"I participate in PKK activities, like monthly social gatherings, savings and loans, prayer groups, competitions. There are many training sessions, such as to make cookies, basket weaving for fish. Sometimes there are monthly meetings at the subdistrict level, but only the wife of the Village Head attends. In the village, occasionally 2-3 people are invited, but the meeting takes place at the subdistrict. That's all, just the head [of PKK] is invited, then she will distribute [information] to people."* Farah, Setia Kawan Pekka group leader, North Hulu Sungai research village, 13 July 2019.

Even when activities were focused on women's skills, such as in North Hulu Sungai where the PKK (at the subdistrict level) has offered classes on sewing and how to make salted eggs, the organisation has not been a vehicle for women to become more politically active in influencing village governance or broader decision making and structures of power. The limitations of the PKK activities were summarised by the director of DAMAR in Tanggamus:

> *"Women's participation tends to be around PKK activities, [for example] how to take care of your husband and children, how to take care of your household. They are not yet critically aware about rights and equality. So, these women are already empowered [in a way], but we want to strengthen their perspective, raise their awareness about women's rights."* Bandar Lampung, 9 July 2019.

Another characteristic of the PKK observed in various villages was that, despite its origins as an organisation for village women, over time it evolved to be a vehicle of elite women. Both in the 'intervention' research villages in Bangkalan and Gresik, for instance, and in the Pangkep 'control' site the PKK was dominated by the wives of village officials who focused more on administrative matters rather than enhancing the agency and political influence of women. As such, the PKK in the research villages did not necessarily accurately represent diverse sets of village women or their needs, were limited in their efforts to increase women's political influence, and rarely sought to advocate for women's needs in village decision-making forums.

Existing religious groups

In addition, in many villages, some women were already members of groups based on religious affiliations prior to MAMPU CSO Partner support to village women, which, often to a limited extent, already formed a vehicle for a subset of village women to organise. In some cases these groups had positive benefits in addressing the needs of women, but again were less focused on the wider influence of women outside the home in village governance and structures of power. For instance, in the Bangkalan research village in which most people are affiliated with NU, women were organised in Muslimat, which organised classes for women, through which their literacy skills were improved. In Tanggamus in Lampung, while most villagers are Muslim, at the district level the Catholic church established the Jaringan Wanita Katolik (Catholic Women's Organisation) organisation that provided women with information on healthcare and political rights—but did not have gender awareness focus nor initially support women to deeply get involved in village governance—and was also open to women from other religious backgrounds.

Despite the presence of women's groups and in some cases positive outcomes addressing some of the needs of women in many of our research sites, in general these existing groups have had limited influence on wider women's collective action to influence power structures in the village.

> *"Only men take part in discussion forums. When planning an activity, men usually make the proposal to decide [what activities will be conducted]. The women [including PKK members] do not [participate]."* Ami, PKK leader, North Hulu Sungai research village, 17 July 2019.

> *"I don't know what [activities are in the village]. Basically we just follow [the plans of] the village officials. Seeing them in uniforms makes us scared. Not only that, we feel reluctant to [approach] the village government. Back then it was really difficult for us. Even entering the village office is a rare thing for us to do."* Indah, Women's School group leader, Gresik research village, 19 February 2019.

Collaborating with existing groups

At the same time however, existing women's groups were often crucial for establishing and the success of new women's groups that eventually were, as this study shows, able to create positive change for diverse groups of women. In a number of villages, the initial cadre of the new groups—that MAMPU CSO Partners supported village women to establish—were drawn from these existing groups.

For example, in Bangkalan, many Pekka union cadres are women from prayer groups and the PKK (and associated Posyandu). PEKKA also often involves PKK members in its Akademi Paradigta. Ati, for instance, discussed in Section 4, joined Pekka after having been an active Posyandu cadre and was a member of Muslimat with her own prayer group. She had also established a kindergarten in her hamlet. This also meant that Ati had an established network with women in the village, thereby further facilitating her activities in the village's Pekka Union. Similarly, in Cirebon, Srikandi joined 'Aisyiyah after having been involved in Posyandu:

> *"In 2008 I became a [Posyandu] cadre… The Village Head chose me. He said, it appears that I am an active person... I used to be on the school committee too [and] I was filmed [for community service announcements]."* Srikandi, Cirebon research village, 23 February 2019.

Another 'Aisyiyah cadre, Hatini, discussed in Section 4, was, like Srikandi, also involved in Posyandu and PKK. Becoming an 'Aisyiyah cadre gave Hatini an opportunity for new experiences and expand her knowledge:

> *"[When I became] a cadre for TB prevention… I looked for people who were ill. Then I reported [them] to the Puskesmas... [Then I joined 'Aisyiyah and] I liked it because I received a lot of information from 'Aisyiyah... I am more confident now. Confident to express my opinions and ideas about anything really."* Hatini, Cirebon research village, 2 March 2019.

Thus, the experiences of these women show that while existing women's organisations such as PKK may have initially had limited success in promoting women's empowerment and broader influence over village governance or Village Fund allocations for women's needs, CSO collaboration with women in these organisations meant that they were strategically placed in terms of experience and networks, thereby enhancing their likelihood to be agents of change.

However, initially targeting women with such organising backgrounds was not always the approach used by MAMPU CSO Partners. In the Gresik research 'intervention' village, for instance, KAPAL Perempuan's subnational partner, KPS2K, initially asked the village government to recommend women who they felt would benefit from joining the Women's School group. However, the village government only recommended women affiliated with the PKK, many of whom according to KPS2K did not represent the poorest women in the village, which was a core focus of its support. As such, community organisers from KPS2K decided to directly approach poor women in the village to join the Women's School group.

Aside from working with established village groups, some CSOs supported village women to establish new groups but in doing so drew on wider established national and regional religious networks. As a women's mass religious organisation, 'Aisyiyah draws on its national networks with Muhammadiyah. Meanwhile, PEKKA accesses NU networks in some regions.

3. Multi-stakeholder forums (usually with mixed gender membership)

A number of CSOs supported villagers to establish multi-stakeholder groups (usually of mixed gender) to both address women's needs and to have better representation in and influence over village decision making and development. BaKTI supported villagers to form the Maju Mele Constituent Group at the village level (see the case study of the Story of Change in East Lombok Section 4) to focus on advocacy for women. FPL and its subnational partner SPI Labuhan Batu supported villagers to establish the Community-Based Service (LBK) Forum discussed in Section 5. These groups have functioned strategically in multiple ways:

- As a mechanism for women to develop networks with villages, social, cultural and religious leaders,
- As a mechanism for increasing public support of village women and policy advocacy related to new Village Regulations, funding and decisions on women's priority issues and on gender inclusion, and
- As a bridge between CSOs and the community.

Multi-stakeholder groups and other forums are a helpful way to initiate and maintain positive relationships with existing power holders at the village level—both for village women and for the supporting CSOs. Forums that consist of a mixture of existing power holders (both state or society-related power holders), as well as other members, are helpful for connecting to the village government authorities, to give advice on planning concerning the Village Law, and for village authorities to indirectly gain support from the members of forums to guide the enactment of draft Village Regulations.

On the one hand, this approach has the potential to reduce possible resentment from male authorities in the village (especially in villages where patriarchal structures are most acute) as they are also included in the group. It also potentially minimises the risk that women's collective action down the line is perceived to threaten power structures as relationships are built, knowledge is shared and rumours can be mitigated, especially if members are from a diverse range of different social groupings in the village. Those multi-stakeholder forums with diverse memberships also have the potential to tap diverse networks in the village for support in order to create multiple sources of pressure to lobby decision-makers for change. In the East Lombok case, members supported a new Village Head drawn from their own group and used the political skills and networks they had developed through the group to support his successful candidacy.

On the other hand, multi-stakeholder forums do entail the risk that the structure of group membership and internal group dynamics reflects patterns in which men gain group leadership positions and have the strongest voice within the group, particularly in villages with highly patriarchal structures. It also risks that female members are less willing to speak up about their preferences or are nervous about becoming group members at the onset. Section 4 illustrated precisely these challenges for women in exercising their agency within such patriarchal contexts. An additional risk is that that female members that join the group tend to be those more accustomed to having voice in the village and that more vulnerable women are excluded. In Labuhan Batu, such risks were mitigated through first supporting the establishment of women's groups and then later establishing the multi-stakeholder forum.

4. Supporting and collaborating with a mixture of groups

In the discussion above on working with existing groups we identify how some organisations have used a mixed strategy of working with existing and new groups. DAMAR has used this strategy in working with FAKTA and other organisations in Tanggamus District, and also in setting up gender education classes for

many social groups, not just women. They have also held men's classes (Kelas Bapak), and youth classes (Kelas Remaja), though classes are separate so that each have been able to learn in their own way.

PEKKA has also sometimes used a similar strategy of working with new and existing groups. This has been particularly important in difficult contexts where they have had to navigate existing power structures in which power is held by a few influential people, interconnected through family and social-religious networks. Such powerholders tend to dominate the village government and the Village Consultative Council (BPD). Given that PEKKA's work has targeted the female heads of families that can be in significantly vulnerable situations, in anticipating political resistance to their agenda among existing power holders they have used the mixed strategy of collaborating with existing groups, supporting the establishment of new groups and setting up multi-stakeholder forums (often at the supra-village level) to connect to these power holders so as to have a better chance of overcoming challenges. FAKTA-DAMAR has used this strategy at the district level in aiming to influence the formulation of District Regulations.

Each of the strategies outlined above on supporting women through different types of group structures had strengths and trade-offs. Exclusive women's groups provide a safe space to build capacity and solidarity but are resource intensive and take significant time to build trust and support women to organise. Existing groups help extend membership quickly but risk following established agendas. The creation of multi-stakeholder forums assists women and supporting CSOs to build wider support, but are not necessarily a comfortable space for women, especially vulnerable women, and when they are the only group supported, risk being hijacked by elites. Supporting multiple forms of groups with some cross-membership can help mitigate the risks presented for women by each structure alone.

6.2 Agency: Strengthening women's skills, knowledge, networks and capacity for exercising voice and influence

Women's essential capacity and readiness for acting individually and collectively form the basis for fostering women's voice, influence and empowerment. In turn, this may bring about longer-term changes in women's own welfare in terms of women's access to public services and programs that improve their livelihoods, as well as the participation of women in governance processes. In this research, we have considered the many ways in which CSOs have sought to support women to strengthen their capacities, particularly through groups (discussed in this section) and through other strategies (see Section 7). What is clear from the analysis is that supporting women through groups helps grow both their individual and collective agency by strengthening women's ***power within***, that being their sense of self-worth and confidence, the ***power*** of women ***to*** act in public realms and their ***power with*** other women to engage in collective action and exercise greater (albeit not exclusive) ***power over*** structures of decision making and village development outcomes.

Through supporting village women to establish formal groups of which they are members, or to extend the membership and focus of existing groups, women are brought together around a common interest. These groups vary in size—some are small, whereas others are larger. Irrespective of the scope, through these groups, women are able to forge connections: they build friendships and increase their social interactions, and in so doing build new networks or strengthen existing ties that support them to solve problems, gain confidence and act individually and collectively. We saw women describe the many benefits of the women's groups in Section 4 and the ways groups and members have driven collective action in Section 5. We saw in

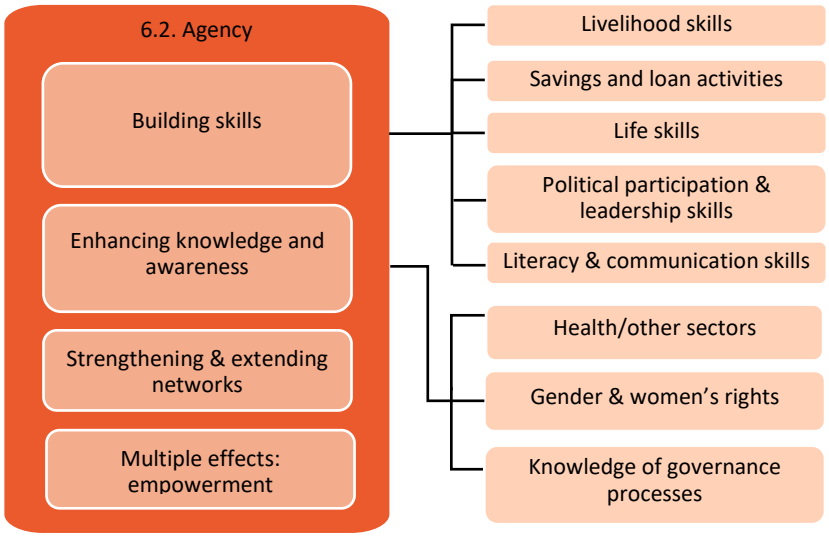
Sections 4 and 5 that these groups strengthen social capital and collective agency over time, through multiple interacting and overlapping processes bolstered by ongoing group participation such as:

- Strengthening and diversifying networks and friendships with other women,
- Developing a sense of solidarity and understanding of the issues facing many women,
- Growing and sharing skills, access to resources, and knowledge,
- Strengthening organisational and leadership skills and experience,
- Providing support, a safe space and a source of protection,
- Building confidence and mutual support to overcome barriers and obstacles,
- Developing women's collective strength to have wider influence, and, among others,
- Providing an organised and recognised platform for: driving women's collective action of multiple forms, and for connecting to and collaborating with other actors and groups in villages and beyond to participate in women's wider networked collectives.

In supporting women to establish or strengthen groups and their diversity, MAMPU CSO Partners focused on gender inclusion and the goal of grassroots women's empowerment in rural villages have, according to village women throughout the research 'intervention' areas, supported each of these processes mentioned above, many of which we return to here, particularly in terms of strengthening skills, knowledge, networks and other capacities. They have supported women in ways that helped build their internal confidence and self-belief. This was a process that took place over time, particularly through extended group participation, rather than something eventuating from one-off events, such as a training or workshop. Internal confidence and self-belief increase women's ***power to*** shape their life worlds and their ***power within***, that being their personal sense of self-worth and self-knowledge. This is often an important first step for women, particularly if they have experienced socio-economic marginalisation. It sets in motion various other empowerment processes, including an enhanced awareness on women's issues and needs. It is also a basis for women to become involved, both in women's groups and community forums at the village (and sometimes district) level and to express their interests and concerns. This then ultimately may trigger long-term changes in women's lives.

The ways that MAMPU CSO Partners have helped bolster women's agency through broader group participation and through specific activities identified in the research, is outlined in Figure 22 and discussed further below.

Figure 22: Strengthening Agency through Group Activities



Building skills

All the CSOs included in the study sought to contribute to women's empowerment and the propensity for exercising voice and influence by building both practical skills in the short term, and skills that built their potential to have longer-term political influence by participating in public-facing village and other decision-making forums as well as by taking up leadership and organising opportunities. Support for skills development in many cases was provided through and connected with important social activities in community life.

In many of the cases in the research sites, supporting village women through group activities focused on both types of skills—practical and intrinsic skills for political participation and public engagement—along with strengthening knowledge and awareness, was what distinguished these groups supported by MAMPU CSO Partners from most others involving women across the research sites. It was rare in the research to find a PKK, Posyandu, KWT, prayer group or economic group that focused activities on both domains of strengthening practical skills of a wide variety (as described above, activities tended to be of a narrow type and focus) and skills for participation in public decision-making forums, such as public speaking practice. Although for some of the women in these existing groups, skills in leadership and community organising developed over time through the very process of leading these existing groups.

Livelihoods Skills

As many women in the research villages tended to be in precarious situations, experiencing (often multiple dimensions of) significant poverty, many CSOs sought to develop skills that support women's livelihoods and economic independence. Indeed, the Migunani (2017) study found that providing support for such practical skills development (and savings and loans activities—see below) was what encouraged group participation at the onset by providing very direct and practical benefits for women to improve their lives. This included trainings on a wide range of skills across the research sites to support livelihoods development, ranging from trainings on budgeting to workshops on organic farming, and how to set up small businesses (for example, the production and selling of cakes or other snacks).

In North Central Timor, for instance, FPL's partner YABIKU has supported women through sewing courses, hiring out tarps and the selling of *tais* (a type of woven fabric specific to Timor). The revenue from these activities has supported YABIKU members financially, while at the same time developing women's livelihood skills. In addition, the trainings have been conducted to teach women how to make coconut oil, crackers and other snacks, which they can then sell to support themselves and their families. Once women become more confident in applying these skills, this often also had a positive impact on others, as illustrated by one woman interviewed in East Lombok:

> *"Before we were told by the BaKTI staff that we would make taro chips with women and widows in the village. We used to have a group [that did this]. Sweet potatoes, taro, I tried to continue the work [on my own]. I used to have my own business. So, I proposed, how about if we make chips like taro?… Then I lent the equipment to the neighbours."* Husnul, East Lombok research village, 11 July 2019.

Savings and loan activities

In many villages CSOs in the study also supported women to set up savings and loans groups. Through these entities, women contribute a small amount of money monthly to a group fund. These funds can then be borrowed, with minimal interest, by other women who wish to start up their own business. For example,

> *"I first borrowed 250 [thousand rupiah], then 500, 1 million, and up to 5 million. I used the money for a duck livestock business. I sold duck eggs to pay off the loan, which I have now paid in full. I also saved some of the profits, so now I can either use the savings or take up more loans if needed."* Member of Pekka group, North Hulu Sungai research village, 16 July 2019.

The savings and loans groups have often provided women with an alternative way to access capital and avoid excessive debt as well as loan sharks, as was the case in Central Lombok:

> *"The migrant workers care group, La Tansa, was first established based on people's needs. Before migrant workers left to go overseas, they used to borrow money from loan sharks [for the migration costs]. When they wanted to start a business, they also borrowed money from loan sharks. This is why the economic empowerment group was established. When there are issues or cases affecting migrant workers, or when there are people who want to find work, or when they return from abroad, the group members in all hamlets will report and coordinate with DESBUMI cadres."* Member of Panca Karsa, Central Lombok research village, 2 July 2019.

Life skills

Other activities sought to support women in the domestic sphere, for instance by providing them with classes on child raising and communication with their husbands. This was another set of skills that women found beneficial for improving their wellbeing. In the Cirebon District research village, among the classes that 'Aisyiyah has provided are programs on communication within the family, particularly between spouses, as well as on child-raising. Supporting women in these areas has often had a profound impact on their everyday lives in how they now share roles and manage any emerging household issues. We also saw this in other villages. In the Tanggamus research village, for instance, Mariana, a participant in DAMAR's gender awareness training reflected on the various classes she, as well as her family members, had been involved in:

> *"Thank God, for me personally there have been a lot of changes. Before, in the house, my husband didn't want to cook, or for us to share roles, such as split the cooking or the cleaning. [Now] if I come home in the afternoon, he is the one who cooks, he can sweep too. [We are] sharing roles, working together. [We are] not distinguishing what work is for women or men."*
>
> *"There have been changes about how to educate my children too. Yes, before, my child didn't want to wash his own dishes. After he participated in the young men's activities, [he thought] yeah, he should help his mother with the work. His knowledge is very meaningful for us, and then we have shared it with friends."* Mariana, Tanggamus research village, 5 July 2019.

These initiatives, however, do need time to trigger changes over the longer-term. A member of the Women's School in Gresik participated in similar classes to those in Tanggamus and said that:

> *"Like sharing roles in the house. But sometimes [he's] still not aware of it. Sometimes it's still me who reminds [him], I still give the reminders. Sometimes he remembers. But sometimes he is not fully conscious [of the need to continue to share roles]."* Women's School group member, Gresik, 20 February 2019.

Political participation and leadership skills

Women were also supported in the development of their skills in political participation, particularly to express their view in public decision-making forums, and to take up leadership and other public-facing roles. We have seen many examples in Section 4 and in various excerpts of village case studies of Stories of Change, in which women have described the importance of practicing public speaking and learning about governance process, not only for increasing their participation in more formal decision-making forums, but also for giving them the confidence to stand up and put their views forward or to make proposals. A common view among women in the interviews and across many different types of CSO-supported groups was that it was important to gain such confidence and public speaking skills so as to be able to participate fully in village and other decision-making forums.

> *"[At first] I didn't feel confident, but now I can speak up. Now I have more knowledge, I have more confidence to speak up, to share my stories with friends. I can go to the subdistrict, which includes participating in the Musrenbang."* Farah, North Hulu Sungai research village, 13 July 2019.

In the Cirebon research village, for instance, women have received training on reproductive health and building skills including in female leadership and public speaking. Similarly, in the North Hulu Sungai research village, in their routine meetings, Pekka union members have practiced speaking in front of others, as was mentioned in Section 5. In the Women's School groups in Gresik and Pangkep, women have also practiced public speaking.

It is important to emphasise too, that the development of such skills took place over time. This not only resulted from specific and targeted activities focused on public speaking, leadership, planning and management activities, but the broader processes of group participation, organising, and engaging both with other women and community members. We see this in Srikandi's story below, and in the life histories of many of the women interviewed in the study (see Section 4 and Setiawan et al., 2020).

Literacy and communication skills

Women have also been supported in developing their literacy and communication skills. This was an important practical skill that helped many women to not only take up more opportunities than they had been unable to previously, but also to express their views and communicate in different ways and formats to different types of audiences.

In the North Hulu Sungai research village for instance, women were asked to write a final assignment as part of PEKKA's Akademi Paradigta. PEKKA also publishes a bulletin including pieces from members from different villages. The women can write about PEKKA activities, but also their own life experiences. PEKKA provides editing support as well as financial incentives to encourage women to write. It is a tool to disseminate PEKKA activities to its members, partners and government officials, but also provides women with an avenue to express themselves:

> *"[For our activities], there was an assignment, I cried. I cried while writing [the article] because it was about my life story, including when my husband passed away ... I was suffering because my husband had another wife."* Pekka group leader, North Hulu Sungai research village, 19 July 2019.

Enhancing knowledge and awareness

The aforementioned support for skills development overlaps with group activities aiming to build knowledge or enhance women's understanding of certain issues relevant to them. All MAMPU CSO Partners examined in the study sought to enhance women's knowledge and gender awareness through women's group activities, and many sought to raise knowledge and gender awareness more broadly in the village. A number of MAMPU CSO Partners also engaged in sharing general information about village and district governance so that women develop more awareness of these processes, and each also shared sectoral knowledge on issues specific to the village communities in question.

Health and knowledge of other sectoral issues

Many CSOs in the study have sought to share information on women's health, and also to enhance the quality and access of women to health services. They have done so by providing women with information on healthcare so that they are able to make informed choices about their bodies and lives. For instance, in Cirebon, BSA (Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah) has provided women with information on breastfeeding and nutrition, as well as on contraception and breast and cervical cancer. As described by Srikandi (also Sri) in Box 24 below, for many women this was completely new information that is of high importance in villages where many people face health issues due to a lack of access to clean water. Srikandi recalls that initially she had very little knowledge of healthcare issues and did not understand how to respond to them. However, through her involvement with BSA she acquired a better knowledge of healthcare:

> *"I didn't understand what cervical cancer was ... After participating in programs from 'Aisyiyah MAMPU, then I knew that cervical cancer is very dangerous."* Srikandi, Cirebon research village, 23 February 2019.

In addition to broad gender awareness, other knowledge sharing activities have often been directly related to the primary issues faced by women in particular and villagers in general in each community. For instance, in Central Lombok, Panca Karsa has provided information about migrant work and the safety of migrant workers through its village cadres organised in the DESBUMI and the women's group La Tansa. In Deli Serdang and Bantul, homeworker union members have gained important information about work conditions, access to health insurance and other programs. Such knowledge sharing has been helpful for women to be more aware of key rights in key sectors, and of supporting services and programs available to them as well as how to access such services and programs. They have often then shared this information with other villagers.

Gender and women's rights

Various CSOs have also provided women with more information on gender and women's rights. This has often represented a dramatic shift with existing knowledge, which we saw in the discussion of women's experiences and perceptions in Section 4.

Over time, providing women with education on their rights has fostered their awareness on these issues and ability to imagine change, including female participation in political processes. One young woman who began participating in the Women's School group in her late teens reflected:

> *"Oh, I just went along at the start, then we were given material about women's rights. Then we also found out that women can actually be leaders, we were made aware at the School. So that's when I thought maybe this is my way to learn about the government and I turned out to be right. The [knowledge on government] was interesting because we did not yet know what our rights were as women. We may have had the rights, but we did*

not understand what our rights were. That's the reality." Women's School group member, Gresik research 'intervention' village, 2 March 2019.

Educating women on their rights has also enhanced their voice within the domestic sphere:

> *"The impact on me was that I understood that the work of women and men was the same, you know? The only difference is that we breastfeed, give birth, etc. For me personally, because maybe I am a tomboyish girl, so many people say that I can easily do men's work. I take care of the house, [get involved] at the village meeting hall, and if I shop a lot, I still carry it myself."* DAMAR participant, Tanggamus research village, 12 July 2019.

Knowledge of governance processes

In addition, the CSOs in the study have also sought to enhance women's awareness on governance processes. For example, PEKKA, through its Paradigta Academy education program, focuses strongly on the goal of empowering women to be able to secure vital administrative documents. This has provided women with a solid understanding of their rights and government services, but has also been a basis for personal growth:

> *"When I started participating in Pekka meetings, I just stayed silent. [But] I learned a lot about legality issues for women and children, and also about divorce papers. That is how I started to build my confidence from my own lived experience. Then I started to participate actively in Pekka activities, such as meetings and training sessions. I am motivated because I want to improve my knowledge and help women to become leaders. I also want to help people so that they can have identity documents such as ID cards, Family Cards, and birth certificates."* Farah, North Hulu Sungai research village, 13 July 2019.

Many other women's groups, such as the Women's Schools, have similarly focused on enhancing women's awareness of governance processes. Women in the Pangkep 'intervention' village, for example, now have a much better understanding of social protection programs and how to access and monitor these which they share with other women. Women in the Central Lombok research village now have much better knowledge of legal processes for overseas work. Women across the research 'intervention' sites have also become more familiar with village planning and decision-making processes—grasping MusDes and Musrenbangdes processes has been important for understanding how they might participate in and influence the decisions made in the village.

Strengthening and extending networks

Through activities of the CSOs and the groups that they established, women were also able to strengthen or build and expand their networks, which as we have seen in Sections 4 and 5 was an important source of social capital to not only make positive changes in their lives more immediately but also for women's collective action involving themselves and others to influence governance processes.

Network building and strengthening starts at a very basic level by expanding opportunities for initial and regular interaction with other women. They then might extend these networks beyond the group. For instance in the North Hulu Sungai District, the savings and loans cooperation established with the support of PEKKA enabled women to meet women in their own village who they didn't know but also other women from the village and beyond. In Cirebon District, through her participation in 'Aisyiyah programs, Sri, a BSA member, became increasingly committed to sharing the information and knowledge she gained with the community (see Box 24 below). Community knowledge grew, while Sri gained recognition from, and new networks in, the community and became more influential.

The emergence of such networks is often highly valued by women at a personal level:

> *"I participate [in the group] making chips, salted eggs and handicrafts. Usually we gather as a group of 50 people, then we are divided into smaller groups. We learn about leadership, share stories [as public speaking practice], and we are given assignments afterwards. Then we contribute money [for the saving and loan activities]. Women from other villages also [join in the activities], so I have made new friends."* Pekka Cadre, North Hulu Sungai research village, 15 July 2019.

> *"[Being in Pekka], it's like having a child. It feels like my own child. So, when my brother asked me to move to the city, I said: 'If only I didn't have to move, I still care for [Pekka] members. I feel sad about leaving [my Pekka group]. But, my brother wants me to move so I don't have to work in the rice fields anymore."* Aminah, PEKKA group leader, North Hulu Sungai research village, 15 July 2019.

These groups often represent informal and safe spaces in which women can share their experiences. The potential impact of this should not be underestimated. For instance, in the Central Lombok District research village the wife of a migrant worker in Malaysia alerted the women's group La Tansa when her husband was arrested after running away from his workplace. With the help of other members of La Tansa, the issue was brought to the attention of the DESBUMI and Panca Karsa who then assisted the family.

Multiple effects: Empowerment

Women experienced positive changes on multiple levels that saw their agency and power to effect change in their lives grow through group participation and multiple types of activities, strengthened knowledge, and new and strengthened networks. Knowledge on healthcare programs, services, and social protection for instance, have provided women with information on and access to quality care and support. By developing women's skills in public speaking and writing, for some their literacy skills have been improved and they are now more able to express their opinions. Similarly, in the domestic sphere, trainings on gender and women's rights have empowered women to speak up for themselves. This illustrates overall increases in women's self-confidence. For example,

> *"I had no sense of confidence back then. But thank God, after speaking a lot, now little by little I am able to speak up. I'm not confident like, like a fool or something like that. Now we dare to talk, dare to confide in our friends. [Gaining] that confidence took maybe two years, three years of learning together, going forward, progressing step by step, learning to speak. If you are going lead an event by yourself this week, then you have to lead the event."* Farah, North Hulu Sungai research village, 13 July 2019.

In some cases, group participation, developing or strengthening organisational and leadership skills has led to the greater influence of many women in the villages—we saw many examples of this in Section 4. For some, this has led to direct participation and representation of women in village government. Sri's story (see Box 24), for instance, shows the multiple effects of her participation in group activities, learning, and network strengthening, and how through her work she became increasingly recognised by the community and eventually elected—by men—as the Neighbourhood Head.

Box 24: Srikandi, 'Aisyiyah Health Cadre, Cirebon, West Java

Srikandi is a forty-eight-year-old housewife and mother of three sons. She moved to her current neighbourhood 20 years ago when she married her husband, who works as a street vendor outside Cirebon. Sri lives in the most disadvantaged area of the research village. The community is affected by hygiene and health issues, including access to fresh water. Many villagers use the river water, although some also channel ground water from rice fields to their

homes. The challenge of accessing clean water is exacerbated by the prevalence of infectious diseases, such as leprosy and tuberculosis, and non-communicable diseases such as cancer and high blood pressure.

Sri began to be interested in becoming a 'Aisyiyah cadre in 2008 on the suggestion of the Village Head. The Village Head (Pak Kuwu), who is also a migrant from another region in Cirebon, moved to Sri's area after marrying the cousin of Sri's husband. He got to know her, demonstrating the importance of family networks. However, Sri's selection was not solely due to family connections. Before she was chosen to be a village cadre in 2008, Sri was active in the Primary School Committee and photoshoots for local public health announcements.

Shortly after being selected as a maternal and child healthcare group (Posyandu) volunteer, Sri began to be involved in more community work, including the PKK and at the local health centre (Puskesmas). Sri's family experience motivated her to be a health volunteer in her community. Sri's father suffered with a debilitating cough for years until he died without knowing the cause of his illness. When Sri meets someone who is unwell, she often imagines that her father, herself, and her family were sick. This empathy is her primary motivating force to volunteer and to always ask and find out more about illnesses and how to treat them.

In 2014, the Village Head recommended that she become a BSA cadre. This recommendation responded to 'Aisyiyah's Regional Management's request to the Village Head to identify potential village women volunteers for their program. Sri reflected that she did not initially fully understand the terms for sicknesses or treatments, nor the symptoms of illnesses and how to respond to them when she worked at the health clinics. Yet, through her involvement with 'Aisyiyah, Sri acquired knowledge of reproductive health and healthcare:

"If I'm not wrong, 'Aisyiyah arrived in 2014… It was reproductive health that initially I didn't understand. After there were regular Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah meetings, I also continued to ask what is 'reproductive health'? At first, I did not understand what cervical cancer was, I only knew what I saw on television. After participating in programs from 'Aisyiyah MAMPU, then I knew that cervical cancer is very dangerous."

As a health volunteer without a wage or reimbursement for transport, Sri nonetheless visited patients to inform them about diseases and to encourage them to seek and maintain treatment. Sri feels that she has a moral responsibility:

"I don't know, it is just like I feel like I have this responsibility. [If] you have an obligation, you feel it if you have not carried it out, the feeling is like curiosity… So, we are cadres, even though there are no salaries [but it feels] that means I have been chosen [so] I must be a charitable person. Cadre, it is a shortening of charitable activities."

After Sri became a cadre, her enthusiasm for knowing about illnesses and diseases and sharing this information in the community grew. In 2016, her commitment to working as a Tuberculosis Prevention Cadre and sharing information with high-risk community members for the local health clinic resulted in her being highlighted in a video for USAID-LKNU. Sri also began contributing to many other health clinic programs, including for midwives, aged care, and men's awareness of maternal health.

Her work with the local health clinic is closely connected with her work as an 'Aisyiyah cadre. The knowledge she gained through 'Aisyiyah programs made her even more committed to want to visit residents. Without an allowance for transportation, she visits unwell people in her area. Sri has become a contact person for women who have health concerns, she talks to local women, examines women who are worried about growing lumps in their breasts and encourages them to go to the local health clinic or the city hospital. Sri travels around her village every day on the mini-bus or is driven by her sons to the village's midwifery centre (*Pondok Bersalin Desa, Polindes*) and the health clinic. Sri even delivers prescription medicine to local women and ensures that patients take medications in line with instructions. According to a former village midwife, Sri is a role model:

"For everyone she is the do-er who wants to care about the environment, about the groups who are around here… Let alone being a Posyandu cadre, like Mrs Sri, sometimes the people [in the research village] are really difficult, fear is great here. A feeling of fear that 'oh no, I am not an educated person' still exists. But as she is already used to joining gatherings in the village like that, she wants to learn and she really wants to know, so she motivates herself to be strong." Former Village Midwife, Cirebon, March 2019.

Sri's dedication to her work began to be increasingly recognised by her community. In 2018, unbeknownst to her, she was elected to be the chairperson of her neighbourhood (RW) in a meeting attended only by men. Sri was selected as one of sixteen inspirational women in Indonesia to the International Women's Day event "Listening to Grassroots Women" (*Mendengarkan Perempuan dari Arus Bawah*),which was opened by President Joko Widodo at the State Palace in Jakarta. Sri was the sole woman representing Cirebon Regency and 'Aisyiyah.

In addition to these changes at the level of individual women, CSO activities have also generated other changes. Sometimes their work has resulted in greater sensitivity of the male leadership to women's issues. In other cases, the programs of CSOs were replicated to other villages, as happened with the paralegal groups established by YABIKU in Central North Timor, or with Women's Schools in Gresik. In Central Lombok, as a result of the activities of CSOs, there has been a decline in the number of female migrant workers. This is both as a result of more information but also because people are given viable alternatives to generate an income, i.e. because their skills have been enhanced and by being able to borrow funds to start up their own businesses.

6.3 CSO organisational structures for reaching village women

A range of different CSO organisational structures were encountered during the study, which also has implications for shaping the choices made in how CSOs have supported village women. This section discusses the types of CSO internal structures and approaches used to support village women beyond supporting the establishment of groups or collaborating with existing groups as was discussed above. This includes the ways that national CSOs and mass women's organisations focused on gender inclusion and the goal of women's empowerment connect with communities through branch structures, or in partnership and through networks with other organisations in district localities so as to have on-the-ground impacts. It also includes the different ways CSOs staff and partners connect to villagers (through direct staff engagement, community organisers, cadres, or a combination).

In 2016, MAMPU commissioned a study undertaken by a group of researchers at Migunani (2017), to investigate the types of national MAMPU CSOs Partners, how they were structured and how they sought to reach village women. The Migunani study identified three types of structures among MAMPU's partners based on their internal structures and relationships with other organisations, which are outlined in the box below. These structures, according to the 2017 study, influence the nature of group membership and group identity, the model of engagement, and the style or nature of support and facilitation.

Box 25: Migunani (2017) Typology of CSO Structure and Form of Engagement

Type A - multi-level vertical structure in which "The national partner connects to local groups through a mix of provincial, district or subdistrict representation. The identity of the local group mirrors that of the national partner and has a similar form in each location" (2017, 11). The structure of these organisations, such as PEKKA, 'Aisyiyah, and the Indonesian Women's Coalition (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia - KPI) mirrors a branch structure.

Type B - sub-partner engagement: "The national partner forms partnerships with civil society organisations (CSOs) at different levels working on similar issues. These sub-partners then establish or support collective action groups or activities related to shared issues. The identity of the group is more individual and the role of the sub-partner is prominent" (2017, 11). Examples of such partnership structures involving national organisations such as Migrant CARE and KAPAL Perempuan nationally, and their partners in Indonesian provinces and districts such as Panca Karsa in Central Lombok (with Migrant CARE), and KPS2K in Gresik, and YKPM in the Pangkajene Islands District, which are both in partnership with KAPAL Perempuan.

Type C - multi-stakeholder activity: "This is catalysed by the national partner at different levels, and this multi-stakeholder activity is the collective action, and members are organisations rather than individuals" (2017, 11). This structure tends to reflect consortiums and networks, as we find with the network of FPL/Women's Crisis Centres throughout the archipelago but with a small team in Jakarta, and the regional consortiums such as PERMAMPU (affiliated, for example with DAMAR) in Sumatra, and BaKTI in Eastern Indonesia (affiliated, for example, with LSPDM).

These arrangements were largely reflected in the findings of this research, although this study did not focus on the degree to which the identity of local branches, partners, and consortium member organisations varied significantly from the identity of national MAMPU partners as this was beyond the scope of the research.

We did, however, observe that for Type B, there was further variation among the sub-national partners of national organisations. We discuss these variations further below. We also identified that one of MAMPU's partners, BaKTI, that was unable to participate in the Migunani (2017) study had a slightly different structure to the three types mentioned, constituting a regional foundation model. **As such, we identify five models of engagement that include Type A, two sub-types for Type B, variable models of engagement for Type C, and an additional model for BaKTI in Type D.**

Types of CSO structures and models for connecting to village women

Across the research sites, how CSOs interacted with village women involved different approaches to engagement on the ground. This partly reflects the types of CSO internal organisational structures mentioned above as identified by Migunani (2017)—the branch structure, sub-national partner model, or consortium model—but also the different ways CSO partners organised their staff, community organisers, and cadres (collectively the human resources of the CSO) so as to reach, support and engage with village women and their communities. Each structure and model of support has advantages for the ways these organisations connect to villages, adapt to local conditions, and provide support to village women. Each model also has trade-offs, for which CSOs had to make difficult decisions, particularly in terms of resourcing. In this section, we identify each of the broad organisational structures and staffing approaches. In later sections, we also look at the advantages and trade-offs of choices made for staffing, community engagement, and organising, which were not always specific to any one organisational structure, so as to inform broader learning.

1. Type-A: Multi-level branch structure organisations

Most Type-A branch structure organisations in the study supported village women via some combination of a paid staff from subnational branches (and periodic visits from staff at higher levels) and a system of village women cadres that helped organise and support village women's groups. In this model, through the branch structure, the CSO-assigned community organisers (who are first recruited as members of the organisation) recruited and then supported local village cadres embedded in villages, who in turn mobilised the support of other village women to establish village women's groups and also help grow group/organisational membership. Many of the village cadres invited to participate by CSOs at the onset tended to (but not always) have had at least some organising experience from participating in other groups or activities (e.g. the Posyandu). Out of pocket expenses were covered but village cadres were generally not paid for time, unless they travelled or undertook activities outside of the village on behalf of the organisation.

PEKKA used this strategy in the Bangkalan research village in Madura, East Java, and in the North Hulu Sungai research village in South Kalimantan.[14] In most cases, PEKKA branch staff are based in districts and are paid from national funds. In the research sites, they established a district-level Pekka union (Serikat Pekka) and then went on to recruit the first set of village-level cadres who supported village women to form groups. Such groups selected their own coordinator from the membership, with key members also forming an extended set of village cadre in charge of the daily activities of the PEKKA program in that village.

'Aisyiyah also used this strategy in the Cirebon research village in West Java. Women's group activities in villages are supported by paid staff in its branch structure, stretching from the national level to the provincial, district, subdistrict, and village levels. The organising mechanisms of 'Aisyiyah entail:

- District-level Committees (Pimpinan Daerah),
- Subdistrict-level Branch Committees (Pimpinan Cabang), and
- Village-level Sub-Branch Committees (Pimpinan Ranting).

In the research site, the sub-branch committee invited village women to become cadres who then invited other village women to join. These village-level cadres were then engaged in the daily activities of the 'Aisyiyah program.

One advantage of Type-A organisational models and cadre structures is that there is fairly strong engagement in villages through cadres who are often known and trusted by other village women. This is just one strategy that facilitates national organisations to adapt their programs to very local conditions, particularly when they are unfamiliar with a particular region. Significant resources are required to staff branch offices, and to support village cadres to overcome challenges in their villages. Indeed, across the five types of challenges in building women's empowerment experienced and reported by all MAMPU CSO Partners across 27 provinces, those with a multi-level branch structure were most likely to encounter implementation challenges related to village-level skills and capacity to overcome challenges in villages (about one third of instances), particularly among cadres.

2. Sub-Type-B1: Sub-national partnerships (Local CSO partners of national organisations have both paid staff and village cadres)

In some of the Type-B sub-national partnership structures in the study, the staff of subnational CSOs (in partnership with the national CSO) were based in the district headquarters, regularly visited the program villages, and also used a cadre model, inviting and training village cadres who were residents of the villages who then invited other members to join group activities. National-subnational organisational structures that also use a cadre model we label as Sub-Type-B1 model.

One example of this type of engagement with villages was evident in the partnership between the national organisation Migrant CARE and its regional partner the Panca Karsa Association in Mataram in Central Lombok. Panca Karsa was established in the region in the 1980s and had long worked on migrant worker issues through a network of organisations in the district, prior to forming a strong partnership with the

[14] During the fieldwork, PEKKA was in the midst of restructuring its branches in Kalimantan and the PEKKA staff member for North Hulu Sungai District had just resigned. In the interim, this position was being covered by a staff member based Pontianak, West Kalimantan.

national Migrant CARE. Migrant CARE focuses on migrant worker issues and supporting the establishment of DESBUMI groups in villages that have provided integrated services for migrant workers and their families.

In Central Lombok, Panca Karsa supported villagers to form a mixed-gender DESBUMI group. The DESBUMI and Panca Karsa also supported village women to establish the 'La Tansa' women's group (an Arabic word meaning "Never Forget"), for migrant worker returnees and their families. The difference between DESBUMI and La Tansa is that the first has focused on socialising ways to undertake safe migration for work. The DESBUMI has also become a formal partner of the village government, which is underpinned by a Village Regulation. La Tansa in contrast, has focused on migrant worker returnees and economic activities to support them and does not have a formal connection with the village government. However, when the village government has organised trainings, such as in baking, La Tansa members have usually participated.

While Panca Karsa staff were based in its district headquarters, they regularly visited the research village nearby. They trained and paid two village cadres with MAMPU support to help run activities for the program, who are villagers based in and from the village of the DESBUMI.

Supporting the establishment of DESBUMI in Indonesia is, in many ways, is a very intensive program of sectoral work that has required gaining support for setting up integrated service centres and networks at multiple levels (international, national, district, and in villages) to support safe, legal migration for work. As with Type-A models, significant resources are required to work with and through subnational partners—that, similar to branch structures, require support for funding staff to support community organising, technical knowledge transfer, and to provide support to village cadres and group members—while also maintaining international networks to support migrant workers encountering challenges overseas, and for policy advocacy and support nationally to ensure legislative frameworks are relevant to the needs of migrant workers. At the same time, felt impacts for villagers were evident as more than 17,000 people in Central Lombok, including the vast majority in the research village, were registered and able to use safer migration pathways for overseas work (see Section 3).

3. Sub-Type-B2: Subnational partnerships (Local CSOs have paid community organisers who live-in or nearby villages but no cadres)

Some Type-B subnational partnership structures involved partnerships between a national and subnational CSO that did not use a cadre system, but provided support for village women via paid community organisers who were direct staff of CSOs. Such community organisers tend to live in or very near target villages for a period of time, particularly when establishing a new program of activities and providing support for village women to establish women's groups in villages where there was little prior work. We label this the Sub-Type-B2 model. This type varies from the former type in the ways that CSO staff live in or near villages and the CSO staff themselves form different types of direct interpersonal relationships with villagers through intensive direct engagement. Villagers become very familiar with these CSO staff who are community organisers.

This has tended to be a model employed in by CSOs in this research in which the national organisation sought to help strengthen its subnational partners to expand their activities into new regions and villages and sometimes with a new focus, such as the Women's Schools promoted by KAPAL Perempuan and its subnational partners. KAPAL Perempuan has tended to work with sub-national partners who share their ideology. They have also sought to intensively support subnational partners not only to implement programs but also to strengthen their organisational capacity.

In South Sulawesi, KAPAL Perempuan's partner YKPM (Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation) has its base in the capital, Makassar and, at the time of the research, was active in Pangkep. The YKPM community organiser for Pangkep visited the Pangkep research village and stayed for 3-4 weeks every 2 months. Similarly, in Gresik District in East Java, the office of KAPAL's partner, KPS2K (Women's Groups and Sources of Life organisation) is located in the neighbouring Sidoarjo District, more than an hour away. As a result, community organisers also stayed in target villages.

This type of structure is resource intensive in that it invests significant resources in paid community organisers, but these staff also have a high degree of engagement with villagers that is helpful in places where village women encounter deeply restrictive norms on gender roles, and where women's group activities and advocacy challenge social norms, and politico-economic power structures. Community organisers are able to provide significant support to these village women to navigate emerging challenges.

Like branch models, replicating this model in other places has implications for the CSO resources needed to invest in CSO staff able to undertake deep community organising work in villages. Whether such work is necessary would depend on the length of time the CSO has had an established presence in the district (discussed further in the next section) as well as the degree of difficult for village women in countering context challenges. Stronger and direct support of village women from community organisers is especially important when gender inclusion and empowerment agendas challenge especially patriarchal social norms or seek to tackle politico-economic power structures.

4. Type-C: Network consortium partnership models (with varied mixes of paid CSO staff and cadres)

Network models involve consortiums of organisations working together rather than more singular partnerships between a national and subnational partner. In this model, regional or national networks of organisations have inputs into network goals and structures and also operate at multiple levels, such as across a whole geographic region (e.g. all of Sumatra as in the case of PERMAMPU). Members of these networks are organisations rather than individuals. This often means (and was certainly the case in this research) that villagers are most familiar with the organisation in the network that is most closely located to them (such as a district-based organisation). Provincial organisations in the network often also work in partnership with other district organisations (both those initially in or outside of the network) to support village women in different ways, such as to establish new groups, or they collaborate with existing groups. National or regional network offices usually perform a network coordinating function, providing support to partners for national programs to the extent that their staff resources permit.

In the research sites, there was a high degree of variation among consortium partners in the way they executed projects and engaged with women in villages. For FPL whose local network partners are SPI (the Serikat Perempuan Independen—the Independent Women's Union) in Labuhan Batu District in North Sumatra, and YABIKU in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), there was variation in the approaches used by each subnational consortium partner to support village women, sometimes via their own organisational partners. Some used cadre systems, some collaborated with existing women's groups, some supported village women to establish new groups, and some undertook all three strategies. SPI in Labuhan Batu supported women to establish village women's 'independent unions' and worked with village cadres who then carried out SPI programs. Cadres sometimes covered other villages in addition to the village where they reside.

YABIKU, as an FPL partner, directly assigned its staff to undertake activities in the TTU research village rather than working with cadres. YABIKU's staff visited the village regularly to implement its program. These regular

visits (as with the Panca Karsa Association in Type-B1 above) were feasible due to the village's close proximity to the capital city. The staff also sometimes stayed overnight in the village depending on the needs of the program. Women in the village connected directly to and became very familiar with YABIKU staff.

PERMAMPU, the regional consortium of women's organisations in Sumatra, covers Lampung Province. One of its founding members, the DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute (see Section 3 and Section 5) has provincial-wide coverage. DAMAR formed a partnership with FAKTA in Tanggamus District known as the FAKTA-DAMAR network. As mentioned in Section 3, FAKTA is an organisation that the local Catholic Church established aiming to educate women who are members of the Catholic Church on health issues. DAMAR supported FAKTA to extend its focus and approach to include reproductive health and gender awareness.

In the Tanggamus research village, DAMAR through FAKTA initially connected to village women via existing women's groups and organisations. The Head of FAKTA-DAMAR acted as a community organiser and, at the time of the research, was been deeply embedded in village life. DAMAR staff visited the village once a month from Lampung Province's capital, Bandar Lampung, which is located an hour's drive away. Given this situation, the head of FAKTA was the person village women were most familiar with and DAMAR staff played more of a coordinating role across the district for network activities, in addition to its district advocacy work.

The advantage of the consortium model is that either consortium organisational members or their own district partners tend to have a good understanding of district conditions, and often have contacts in districts and villages. Through these contacts they can connect to village women, particularly for new engagement work and to support women through activities in villages where they haven't conducted programs before. In addition, the model allows for larger networks to grow and to have wider reach for building gender inclusion and women's empowerment across the archipelago. The variation explored above also shows how consortium models provide spaces for their regional partners to adapt any organisational structure to village conditions using their existing networks.

On the other hand, how well each consortium partner (particularly district partners) is able to engage with and support village women is similar to other models described above and below in that it is contingent on:

- Available resources,
- The relationships that community organisers and/or village cadres build with village women, and
- The extent to whether they have a deep understanding of the village context, can build trust and support village women overcome obstacles and develop strategies to circumvent problems.

Thus, each approach to gender inclusiveness and sets of on-the-ground initiatives in these consortium models would need to be assessed on their own merits.

At the same time, such variation in the models of engagement among consortium partners in districts, and that they tend to have varied capacities, strategies and resources, can create implementation challenges in supporting village women and their collective action. Indeed, across the five types of challenges experienced and reported by all MAMPU CSO Partners across 27 provinces to October 2019, those with a network consortium structure were most likely to encounter advocacy and operational challenges more than any other type of structure (around one fifth of instances). This was due to the stretched resources of the network coordinating organisations that need to work at scale but also accommodate the varied needs and approaches of their partner. Network models no doubt benefit from:

- The network investing significant resources in monitoring activities, identifying obstacles early, and supporting partners to develop strategies to overcome these, and
- Allocated resources for programs earmarked for engagement but customised to the structure of each district partner.

5. Type-D: Regional foundation models where a network organiser directly implements programs

BaKTI (The Eastern Indonesia Knowledge Exchange Foundation), both coordinates various initiatives among CSOs in Eastern Indonesia, invests its own staff to directly implement programs in districts and villages (although not through a branch structure) and sometimes works with district partners. At the time of this research, in East Lombok District, BaKTI's main program focused on improving parliamentary engagement through its Reses Partisipatif (Participatory Recess) program (see Section 7) and supporting villagers to form the Constituent Groups discussed previously (see the case study of a Story of Change in Section 4) that also connect to these parliamentary members.

In East Lombok, BaKTI assigned one of its staff, a popular CSO community organiser initially from another organisation, to assist and monitor the establishment of Constituent Groups as well as BaKTI programs.[15] After the Constituent Group was established, the community organiser drew on her extensive networks to help Constituent Group members connect to village government leaders, and to the heads of the relevant offices in East Lombok Government. This community organiser visited the village fairly regularly and was well known by Group members. Given this mixed model, considerations for advantages and trade-offs for specific endeavours would be similar to those mentioned in other models above depending on which approach is used.

6.4 CSO choices in models of support for village women: Advantages and trade-offs

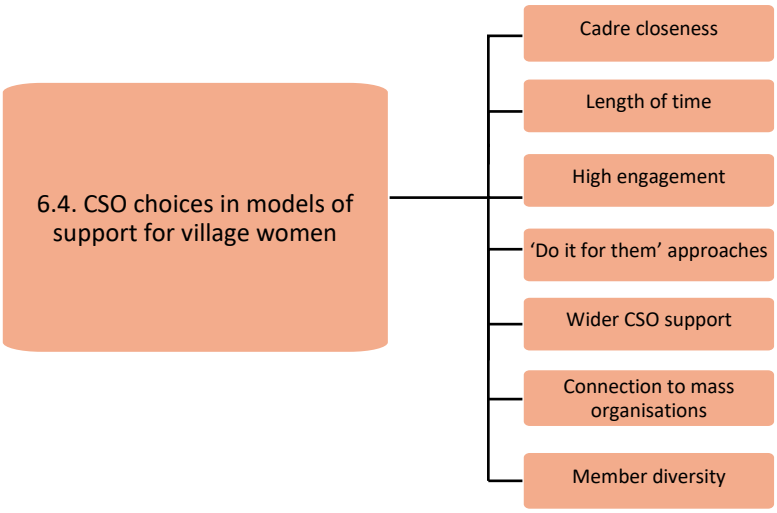
One of the most important aspects across all these different models used by CSOs (or other agencies and facilitators) to reach, engage with, and support village women, is the degree to which there is regular support for and trust developed with women in villages. This is especially important in situations where village women's efforts to build groups and networks and to improve gender inclusion and women's influence in governance and development rub up against strong social norms that run counter to such agendas. It was evident in the research sites that the more embedded the staff or community organisers (or other facilitators and agencies that may not be structured as CSOs) were in the everyday life of the women (either directly or in collaboration with cadres), the better they understood village women's daily challenges, and if needed could discuss and support these women to develop solutions to any challenges they encountered.

Below we identify and discuss further the advantages and trade-offs of key dimensions of organisational approaches to grassroots engagement to support gender inclusion in structures of power and decision making, which have emerged in the research sites. These are based on analysis of ways the MAMPU CSO

[15] BaKTI initially used a partnership model with a CSO in Lombok island for its programs, but implementation and accountability challenges resulted in a switch to direct implementation. BaKTI set up a sub-office in West Nusa Tenggara covering two areas: Mataram City and East Lombok District.

Partners have supported village women. We aim to identify key lessons that might be applicable to other contexts and structures of support. We do not disaggregate the analysis by the specific types of higher-level organisational structures mentioned above, as many aspects of the models of support for village women have been present across types of multiple organisational structures. Instead, we explore the advantages and challenges of the choices made across these models, such as using cadre systems, the relevance of the length of time a CSO has been in the village, and the investment in high engagement with village women from community organisers. We also discuss the advantages and trade-offs of 'do it for them' (versus 'do it with them') approaches and sequencing, wider CSO support when group members undertake new forms collective action in public forums, connections to mass organisations and different types of membership (see Figure 23).

Figure 23: Choices in Models of Support for Village Women



Village cadres

'Cadres' here refers to the women in villages who are invited and if they agree, are recruited by CSOs to not only invite other women to join new or established groups, but to also (at least initially) lead activities or organise programs supported by the organisation in the village (or multiple villages) or to be a point of contact for a CSO program in villages. For example, if village women have questions, need clarification, or when they are too shy to even ask questions to CSO staff, they go to cadres**.** As discussed above, many CSOs use this cadre system.

Advantages:

There are several advantages of the cadre structure, examples of which were found in each type of CSO organisational structure mentioned above. First, CSOs can support cadres to build or strengthen their organising skills, knowledge and other capacities, which remain in the village beyond the life of the program.[16] Cadres can then share these skills and knowledge with other women's group members. In their organising and program roles for the CSOs, cadres can use these skills to build networks within and beyond the village through their work with the CSO. This has other implications for advocacy and women's

[16] These skills can also be built in other women's group members, but cadres take on some of the organisational functions of the CSO.

representation down the track as cadres become an important part of the broader network of women for wider advocacy on gender inclusion and women's empowerment.

Second, a cadre system is also a way for CSOs to connect with and build trust in village communities, support women to increase group membership, and create an avenue through which CSOs can have very frequent and close contact between the organisation and villagers. Cadres form a 'bridge' between CSOs and village women. This is a helpful for CSOs (or other institutions using a cadre structure) embarking on new programs in villages where they don't have existing relationships or a strong presence. Third, if cadres have or develop close relationships with state and non-state authority figures in the village, then this can help open doors for strengthening gender inclusion and women's empowerment through the collective force of the cadres, as was the case in the Bangkalan research village (see Box 26). This also helps build sustainability beyond the life of a particular CSO program, particularly if they can gain government support.

Box 26: Building Trust in Bangkalan

In the Bangkalan research village, political power is concentrated in one extended family. The family is highly respected with strong religious leadership roles within the society. In the region, the dominant religious social institutions intersect with the village government leadership, creating a monolithic political structure. The family owns and run a local Islamic boarding school. Within this village power structure, PEKKA initially invited a number of village women who had connections to this family to become cadres, so as to simultaneously fulfil two goals at once: to access and garner support from the village government and to access the religious organisational networks in the village to connect to other village women. PEKKA staff explained that the region and the village was known as a 'difficult' area, as far as social norms around gender is concerned. Villagers, and in particular the leadership, are very conservative in their reaction to ideas of gender inclusion and women's empowerment, especially in relation to village governance. Accessing cadres in this way smoothed the process of garnering support to establish the Pekka union in the village and made it easier for other women to join.

Connecting to existing power structures of both the village government and dominant social groups helped PEKKA via cadres establish trust with villagers in a community where they had not previously supported village women. They shared information and aspects of their program for 15 minutes during the religious gatherings that most women attend (absence from such gatherings usually incurs social sanctions).

Trade-offs:

Aside from requiring significant resources needed to establish and support a cadre structure together with the branch staff of organisations, the cadre system comes with its own challenges that may impact on women's influence. First, how well activities go can be interrelated with the capacity of cadres, which can vary. Second, it is hard to avoid cadres being ingrained in the everyday relationships, politics, and dynamics of village life. Cadres are often members of the villages in which they support programs and mobilise women to join groups. As with most villagers, they are deeply embedded in community life and usually rely on these communities for their own opportunities for support and wellbeing. This presents opportunities for building women's groups and sharing program or knowledge and support from the organisations for which they are cadres with other women and community members. It also presents opportunities in garnering support from the village communities and leadership for women's group activities.

If, however, cadres are closely associated with particular leaders within the village—which is almost unavoidable through their advocacy work—or with particular sets of village elites, this may open doors, but it can also close doors at other points in time. Changes in village leadership and other critical junctures can

possibly see cadres sidelined from future decision-making forums and other opportunities if they are deemed by the new leadership to have close relationships with former leaders, as was explained by one woman in West Java (Box 27). These risks were certainly evident in the Labuhan Batu research village in North Sumatra. Union members of SPI who are also cadres for the district SPI explained that they depend on their close relations with influential village leaders. If the power shifts in the village-level structures to new actors, they lose their political protectors.

Further, if opposition factions want to destabilise the village leadership in office, they can undertake efforts to sideline cadres, thereby discrediting them and the CSOs or programs that support them, so as to attribute stalled programs to the failures of the village leadership who support such activities. Such situations also raise risks for the wellbeing of the cadres in their everyday interactions with villagers and in accessing networks and opportunities in communities that they rely on for their own socio-economic welfare. These risks are similar for other community facilitators in development programs who also reside in and depend on the village.

Box 27: CSO Cadres in Cirebon

In many places in Cirebon District, vote buying and corruption have created partisan politics. There has been a tendency in the region to prioritise campaign team members in key positions and to sideline organisations and members (or cadre) who were not supportive of the winning candidate.

"This is what is bad here, sometimes not all Kuwu [Village Heads] are supportive. Sometimes when the Kuwu changes, all cadres are replaced too…If the cadre [of an organisation] is not part of the successful campaign team, she's finished. For example, in our other partner village we don't have any more cadre because they voted for another candidate, so now they [the winning Kuwu] does not want to work with MAMPU." Head of PD 'Aisyiyah Cirebon, 21 February 2019.

The implications are that the cadre system needs to be always ready to adapt quickly to the changing landscape of village politics, which happens at least at the times of elections each six years, but also when relationships change between the village government and the BPD and other influential actors. The cadre system may pose less of a risk in villages with more narrow, monolithic structures that rarely change such as in the research village in Bangkalan discussed above (see Box 26).

With this in mind, for those organisations with village cadres across all the different types of CSO structures, it is clear that developing strategies to mitigate these risks for cadres, while benefiting from the opportunities this structure present are important. This includes:

- Identifying indicators of when cadres come under stress from village dynamics,
- CSO staff providing back up and support to these cadres,
- Developing strategies to bridge village factions and gain support for gender inclusion and empowerment programs over time, and
- Planning for the ruptures introduced with village elections or other critical junctures well in advance.

Length of time in the district/village

Regardless of the CSO structure, the length of time CSOs had worked with, or had programs in, villages was also relevant for the nature of the support provided to village women and the speed at which CSOs could engage with or upscale such support. In places where relationships with villages were long established and displayed a high degree of trust, it was easier to undertake new types of activities and bolster women's collective action.

This was certainly a strong feature of the consortium approaches and subnational partnership models examined, as the main subnational partner or consortium member organisation (which sometimes had its own CSO partners) undertaking direct village-level engagement were often district-level CSOs that have had a longer presence in the region and existing connections with villagers. They had often undertaken activities in villages before, or villagers may have heard of the activities undertaken elsewhere. This would be similar too in the case of organisations with long established branches in target regions.

Even in those villages where new activities and relationships were established without such prior presence, it was also evident how problem solving became easier over time as CSOs began to be trusted by communities and village leaders. This is the case in the North Hulu Sungai research village in South Kalimantan Province where PEKKA has supported village women. Unlike other nearby provinces such as West Kalimantan where CSOs are vibrant and active, in South Kalimantan, and in North Hulu Sungai District, at the time of the research, there had been very little CSO activity in the research region, except for CSOs working on environmental issues. Thus, in the research village, CSO activities were relatively foreign for the village government and village citizens. At the same time, the community was not closed off to CSO activities—when PEKKA approached the Village Head, they were made very welcome. As trust was developed over time, relationships between PEKKA and the village, subdistrict and district government strengthened, but establishing the program, supporting women to establish women's groups, and getting activities off the ground took longer than in those places with an established program presence.

High engagement of community organisers and CSO staff

Many of the organisations in the study displayed a high degree of direct engagement of CSO staff with villagers through regular visits (for those organisations with established, trusted relationships in villages) or through live in or live nearby approaches (for those seeking to establish new relationships). This enhanced the collective action capacity for village women's groups, particularly in more difficult contexts.

Advantages:

The more frequently they visit or even stay in villages, the more intensive interaction the between the women and the community organisers, which energises collective action activities among the women themselves, particularly in villages where CSOs have not collaborated before. Understanding the distinct challenges encountered by women in each village in comprehensive ways influences the way the women (facilitated by the organisers) come up with solutions in facing the challenges, and ultimately on influencing village decision makers and even accessing village funds.

Trade-offs:

At the same time, such an approach requires a significant investment of resources in staff, which may not be as necessary in places where there are already indicators of a conducive environment to women's empowerment. However, efforts could be rolled back over time after an initial intensive investment. CSOs that partner with local CSOs and have community organisers that stay in villages for extended periods (as was the case with KAPAL Perempuan's partner YKPM), or visit the village every day (as was the case with YABIKU in TTU and Panca Karsa in Central Lombok), can both establish strong direct connections with women in villages, but require significant staff and resources to do so.

'Do it for them' and 'do it with them' approaches: Sequencing

Advantages:

One of the goals of many CSOs is to try and make sure the impacts of their programs are sustainable beyond the life of these programs. To do this, one of their strategies is to support village women and the village government to establish Village Regulations that incorporate women's concerns or seek to bolster gender inclusiveness (discussed further in Section 7). This is an overarching and long-term strategy deployed alongside the day-to-day running of the program, and requires distinctive technical skills to help villagers and their leadership draft the content. This is usually a strength of CSOs who have significant knowledge in specific sectors. In some cases, CSOs draft Village Regulations and propose these to the Village Head or other supportive leaders/government members. In others they might provide support on the architecture of the regulation, but they instead support village women to lead the drafting or to have significant input into content along with the village government, providing advice. In both cases CSOs help to fill important knowledge gaps, but each approach takes a different degree of time and investment.

Trade-offs:

'Do it with them' approaches take longer and require greater resource investments to support villages, but result in better understanding of the content and how to carry through with implementation over the long term. Intensive support for collectively lobbying for and drafting regulations in 'do it with them' approaches is best done early in CSO village support, not only so villagers can learn and take ownership of the change, but so the CSO can follow up with more on-the-ground support in implementing the regulation, as has been the case in many of the research villages in this study.

'Do it for them' approaches are often faster to implement and result in more technically sophisticated content in the regulation, but this does not necessarily mean that villagers are well equipped to implement the regulation, or are committed to or understand its goals. Sequencing and the approach used in such CSOs activities is critical. If CSOs take a 'do it for them' approach, then it is helpful if efforts are made to transfer knowledge and ownership of the regulation.

If an approach of 'do it for them' is undertaken without skills-transfer, this has the potential to limit sustainability after programs to support women cease. Further, where new regulations are introduced late in programs, or without support to villagers to traverse changes in leadership, or without strategies to support the implementation of new regulations, then there is the risk of challenges for village women down the track. Changing regulations can challenge social norms, shake-up power structures and established ways of doing, the effects of which are sometimes not apparent until such regulations begin to be implemented. This can have implications for village women over longer-term time horizons, including political backlash in the extreme case, amendments to regulations in subsequent administrations, or simply ignoring/under-funding the regulations. Sequencing support is key to managing these risks.

Wider CSO support when group members undertake new forms of collective action in public forums

In the early phases of programs, as members of village women's groups grow their skills and confidence from their internal group activities, new opportunities to collectively influence decision making may arise. However, as we saw in Section 4, this can be a frightening experience for some, and filled with obstacles such

as community push back and threats from the village leadership in others. Many women in this study described how important it was when they first began to advocate for attending or actually did participate in decision-making forums that they were accompanied by CSO staff (or in some cases cadre) to support them on this journey, particularly during the early phases and in villages where women have previously been excluded from being involved in village decision making and other public-facing roles. Often as their access to public forums grew, they became excited to attend and confident in their public speaking capacity.

Advantages:

Across all research sites it was evident that, at the very least during early phases, CSO support through cadres or staff accompanying village women to public meetings and covering transportation costs was important for improving the likelihood that women not only attend, but also speak up or convey their views. In North Hulu Sungai District, the head of the Pekka group in the village frequently attended meetings on establishing the village-owned enterprise, and PEKKA branch staff and cadres supported her in this process. Similarly, when group leaders and members of the women's group in the research sites in Pangkep took up their frequent invites to meetings at the district level or from other CSOs in the region, YKPM and 'Aisyiyah (which also has a program in the district) paid their travel costs and accompanied them. This has amplified village women's engagement with, and influence in, district structures.

Trade-offs:

However, again, this requires additional program resources, planning and a strong investment in community organisers and staff to support collective action and accompany women to such meetings, particularly at the onset.

Connection to mass organisations

Whether the CSOs and mass women's organisations had connections to other networks, CSOs, or mass organisations also had a role in how they established programs and supported village women. For example, 'Aisyiyah's connection to Muhammadiyah meant it required specific strategies to build trust in villages that are the stronghold of other mass organisations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

Advantages and trade-offs:

Connections to mass organisations can facilitate access to villages, expand reach, provide an initial entry point to establish women's groups and provide a bigger resource base for activities. However, such organisations carry with them a brand or philosophy that can be interpreted in different ways by communities and leaders, over which local branches or CSO partners in the broader network have little control. In such situations this can form a barrier to advocacy and support to village women unless careful strategies are used to build trust in other ways. In the Cirebon research village (a village in which most support NU), 'Aisyiyah was careful to focus on building trust with the village leadership and involving them in multiple activities and collaborations to help mitigate potential misunderstandings in their work to support women to grow their knowledge of reproductive health and nutrition and other gender inclusion activities.

Diversity of group membership

In the discussion on different types of groups, we identified the benefits from each type of structure of group membership. Within all-female groups, there are benefits of having diverse membership so as to connect the group to more vulnerable women. However, in promoting an inclusive membership, it was evident in the research sites that there are often also women who join that have strong social and familial networks and relationships with the village leadership and other influential actors. Some also come from more elite backgrounds or are more accustomed to exercising their voice or leading initiatives. It is important in such situations to ensure that other members also have opportunities to express their preferences, so as not to create internal structures that privilege a small few. Mixed-gender groups have similar benefits and trade-offs—if group leaders are men, social norms may privilege their views and risk not representing the broader interests of women in collective action. In working with established groups, there are opportunities for access and rapid membership growth, but depending on how CSOs manage the group, there are risks that the connections with the established power structures have implications that the forum can be captured by these interests or not strong enough to circumvent norms and interests to favour women's choices.

6.5 Key features of CSO approaches to grassroots support for women to bolster gender inclusion and women's influence

Drawing on the analysis in Section 5 and Section 6, Figure 24 below outlines the key features of the types of support provided by CSOs to bolster women's collective action and empowerment across the research sites as well as the scale or intensity of this support in different contexts. It indicates the kinds of program priorities that would be important in different contexts for new programs seeking to influence women's collective action and influence on the Village Law and village governance more widely.

Figure 24: Activities and Approach to Strengthen Women's Individual and Collective Agency

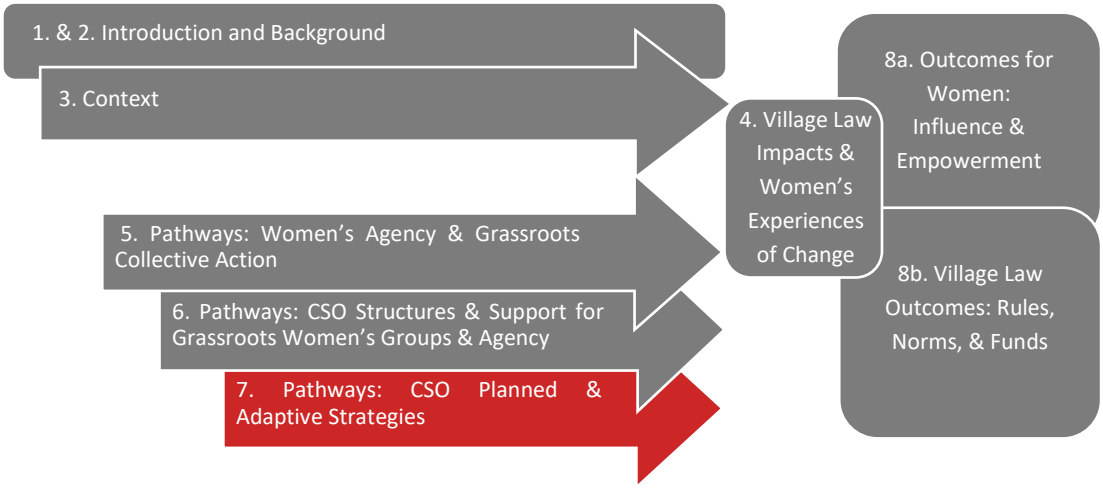
Type of Context:	Types of CSO activities undertaken with community members
Moderately Conducive contexts **District** ✓ **Village** ✓	• **Groups:** Support and work with existing women's groups, with attention to ensuring increased diversity, or if appropriate support village women to establish new groups. • **Scale out** and use lighter-touch coordination in areas with existing indicators of strong, diverse women's organisations, particularly when working with subnational partners, while providing deeper support in select villages. • **Staff:** Provide more intensive support of CSO staff to villages that are open to change but nonetheless have little experience of how to support women's empowerment. • **Strengthen networks and lobbying:** Support women's groups in their activities to build networks that lobby the village leaders for support. • **Strengthen women's skills** for exercising agency. For example, public speaking, negotiating with their husband or family, community outreach and leadership, and more general knowledge across different sectoral issues relevant to the region and wider gender awareness. • **Strengthen women's practical skills**. For example, economic, livelihoods, parenting and health literacy skills. • **Knowledge and awareness:** Strengthen women's knowledge, particularly sectoral knowledge, gender awareness, and of government administrative processes, particularly for vulnerable women in these villages. • **Reducing barriers:** Conduct gender awareness building activities with men and village leaders. • **Mapping:** Undertake network, social and political mapping and data collection on needs with community members. • **Plan** activities so as to accommodate women's daily schedules. • **Plan** for changes in leadership and the political implications of any support for women's groups from prior leaders.
Moderately difficult contexts **District** ✓ **Village** ✗ **District** ✗ **Village** ✓	• **Intense district-level advocacy** (if districts are conducive) so as to spur change in villages. • **Groups:** Both support and work with existing women's groups, and where appropriate support village women to establish new women's groups so as to increase membership diversity. • **Staff:** Engage CSO staff/community organisers to live in or nearby the village for several months or years so they participate in daily activities with women's group members. That is, embed CSO staff and organisers in villages. • **Membership and networks:** Undertake new social activities for women to build relationships (there are often less women's groups in these areas and they may not be used to engagement in group activities). • **Direct benefits from group membership:** Provide basic services that support women such as healthcare, registration etc as they are often absent and are a key constraint to be able to participate in other activities. • **Participation in meetings:** Accompany women to any decision-making forum or encounter with village power structures. • **Skills:** Strengthen women's skills for exercising agency. For example, public speaking, negotiating with their husband or family, community outreach and leadership. • **Skills:** Strengthen women's practical skills. For example, economic, livelihood, parenting and health literacy skills. • **Knowledge and awareness:** Strengthen women's knowledge, particularly sectoral knowledge, gender awareness, and of government administrative processes. • **Reducing barriers:** Conduct gender awareness building activities with men and village leaders. • **Mapping:** Undertake network, social and political mapping and data collection on needs with community members. • **Plan** activities so as to accommodate women's daily schedules. • **Plan** for changes in leadership and the political implications of any support for women's groups from prior leaders. • **Align and frame** all activities with the needs of the village in these contexts.
Highly difficult contexts **District** ✗ **Village** ✗	• **Indirect and careful advocacy** with district and village leaders. • **Groups:** Collaborate with established groups or set up new women's groups (but possibly draw from existing groups at the onset to establish a core membership). • **Direct benefits from group membership:** Provide basic services that support women such as healthcare, registration etc as they are often absent and are a key constraint to be able to participate in other activities. • **Membership:** Initially focus on social activities. For example, *arisan* meetings or religious prayer groups. • **Staff:** The CSO members live in the village for several months or years meaning they would be participating in daily activities with women's group members. • **Participation in meetings**: Accompany women to any decision-making forum or encounter with village power structures. • **Mapping:** Undertake network, social and political mapping and data collection on needs with community members. • **Knowledge and awareness**: Strengthen women's skills for exercising agency. For example, public speaking, negotiating with their husband or family, community outreach and leadership. • **Skills:** Strengthen women's practical skills. For example, economic, livelihood, parenting and health literacy skills. • **Knowledge:** Strengthen women's knowledge, particularly sectoral knowledge, gender awareness, and of government administrative processes. • **Reducing barriers:** Include men and village leaders in some activities. • **Plan** activities so as to accommodate women's daily schedules. • **Plan** for changes in leadership and the political implications of any support for women's groups from prior leaders. • **Align and frame** all activities with the needs of the village in these contexts.

7.

PATHWAYS OF INFLUENCE:

CSO STRATEGIC AND ADAPTIVE APPROACHES FOR NAVIGATING DIFFERENT CONTEXTS TO SUPPORT WOMEN

7. Pathways of Influence: CSO Strategic and Adaptive Approaches for Navigating Different Contexts to Support Women


1. & 2. Introduction and Background
3. Context
5. Pathways: Women's Agency & Grassroots Collective Action
6. Pathways: CSO Structures & Support for Grassroots Women's Groups & Agency
7. Pathways: CSO Planned & Adaptive Strategies
4. Village Law Impacts & Women's Experiences of Change
8a. Outcomes for Women: Influence & Empowerment
8b. Village Law Outcomes: Rules, Norms, & Funds

In the previous sections we saw evidence of growing collective action among women to influence village life and how CSOs provided different models of support to village women for this process. In this section, we discuss the ways that CSOs supported women's collective action and gender inclusion, with the goal of empowering women, through broader strategies to directly navigate context dynamics or to support village women to do so. We identify why and how CSOs used these strategies to harness opportunities and overcome context constraints. Such approaches, which often involve advocacy work or direct action undertaken by CSOs concerned with gender inclusion—independently or together with village women—constitute a form of more structured, organised women's collective action.

We define these approaches to navigating contexts as both the strategic planned actions and adaptive unplanned actions taken in reaction to realities on the ground to foster an organisational, institutional, policy and socio-political environment supportive of gender inclusion and women's empowerment. This is in contrast to any endogenous changes that may or may not occur over time within the contexts themselves in relation to gender inclusion. We also differentiate between the approaches used to navigate each context discussed in the section below, to the village-level activities with women's groups aimed at building agency and voice and the models of support provided directly to village women discussed in Section 6. However, we consider these three forms of actions undertaken by CSOs to constitute external interventions to build support for gender inclusion and women's empowerment.

Below, we briefly explore the core challenges to building women's empowerment reported by all MAMPU Partners in 27 provinces, 147 districts and municipalities and 1,137 villages. We then draw on analysis of interviews with more than 600 people in the qualitative research sites to explore the pathways that CSOs took to overcome challenges and seek to influence the environments that they were working in so as to be more conducive to women's empowerment. The structure of this section and the key planned and adaptive strategies used are outlined in Figure 25.

Such approaches varied in each context and according to the sectoral issue each organisation focused on. Some aspects of the approaches above were often undertaken at the same time, while others were carefully sequenced, particularly when it came to entry into villages. At times, there were ruptures or critical junctures where new threats or opportunities for women's empowerment emerged—in some instances empowerment efforts stalled or were wound back. This is discussed further in Section 8. Regardless of whether CSOs initially planned their support to village women to have influence on the implementation of the Village Law (the MAMPU Program support for these organisations began just before the new 2014 Law was ratified), supporting village women, with the goal of grassroots women's empowerment, nonetheless had implications further down the line for women's collective influence on village development.

Figure 25: Structure and Key Content of Section 7

7.1 Patterns of Core Challenges
7.2 Strengthening the Institutional Environment: Engagement
Building & strengthening formal and informal relationships
Frequent engagement with policy makers
Identifying and filling technical capacity gaps
7.3 Strengthening the Institutional Environment: Policy Advocacy
Regulation design
Variation
Lag to implementation
Leveraging strong district support
7.4 Building a Network of Champions
7.5 Using Discourse
7.6 Building Trust
7.7 Social Mapping in Villages
7.8 Strategically Leveraging Village Social Networks
7.9 Partnerships with other Organisations
Government
CSOs and non-government organisations
7.10 Features of Effective CSO Strategies in Different Contexts

7.1 Patterns of core challenges for strengthening gender inclusion and women's empowerment

MAMPU CSO Partners across Indonesia reported quarterly from 2014 on the key challenges they encountered to strengthening gender inclusion and women's empowerment in all the regions where they have programs. Table 4 summarises the 1161 instances of challenges reported (as of October 2019) and tracked in monitoring databases by type. Approximately two thirds of the challenges encountered relate to the external environment. This includes the institutional and regulatory environment (government knowledge and capacity), leaders resisting or deliberately limiting their engagement with the CSO programs on gender inclusion and women's empowerment, as well as community knowledge and capacity for the uptake of empowerment initiatives on the ground. We saw in Section 3 how these features were indicators of more difficult or conducive contexts. The remaining third of the challenges were more internal to CSOs

programs (see Section 6), particularly in terms of their own knowledge and technical capacity to overcome the challenges they encountered, such as accessing government or communities during their busiest periods and program operation/implementation challenges.

Table 4: Core Challenges to Strengthening Gender Inclusion and Women's Empowerment Reported by all MAMPU CSO Partners in 27 Provinces, 147 Districts/Municipalities and 1137 Villages, July 2014 - October 2019

Type of Challenge		Number of instances reported	Percent
1. Weak state institutional and regulatory environment (regulations, knowledge, technical and systems capacity) to strengthen gender inclusion and women's empowerment			**18.43%**
	Government (parliament and civil service) knowledge and capacity /regulations/systems (village or district)	170	
	Changes in structure, system, or government staff	44	
	Sub-total	**214**	
2. Limited engagement, commitment or resistance to gender inclusion and empowerment initiatives by leaders (government or social leaders) at district or village levels			**19.38%**
	Deliberate resistance from government, parliament, customary, religious and other community leaders (village/district level)	107	
	Deliberate limited engagement or commitment, particularly from government agencies/leaders or relevant private sector organisations	66	
	Impact of national or local elections—disengagement, delays, other priorities, changing priorities/commitments	52	
	Sub-total	**225**	
3. Community-level awareness, knowledge, attitudes, and collective capacity for women's empowerment			**16.71%**
	Community attitudes and expectations	66	
	Deliberate resistance from communities	36	
	Limited community organisation and participation in empowerment initiatives	55	
	Limited community knowledge, understanding or capacity	37	
	Sub-total	**194**	
4. CSO partner internal capacity to overcome context challenges (available staff, relevant skills, resources, programming)			**20.59%**
	Sub-total	**239**	
5. Advocacy and program operational and implementation challenges			**18.95%**
	Data availability for targeting and monitoring difficulties, and project planning challenges	47	
	Insufficient financial resources—government, CSOs, community or private sector partner allocations	34	
	Access to communities, government officials or parliamentary leaders—scheduling challenges at peak times in government business cycles or community livelihoods cycles	118	
	Network coordination with other advocacy organisations	15	
	Safety and security for CSOs or community members	6	
	Sub-total	**220**	
6. Other			**5.94%**
		69	
	GRAND TOTAL	**1161**	**100.00%**

We can see from the table above that challenges arise at different levels—in the district and village political and institutional environments, and in communities. Thus, MAMPU's CSO Partners used strategic and adaptive approaches that targeted different strategic actors in different domains to overcome these context challenges. Given these challenges, and the context variation identified in previous sections, we now discuss the approaches that CSOs undertook to navigate their operational environments (and also support village women to do so) so that advocacy and collective action efforts by villagers had greater impacts on the ground.

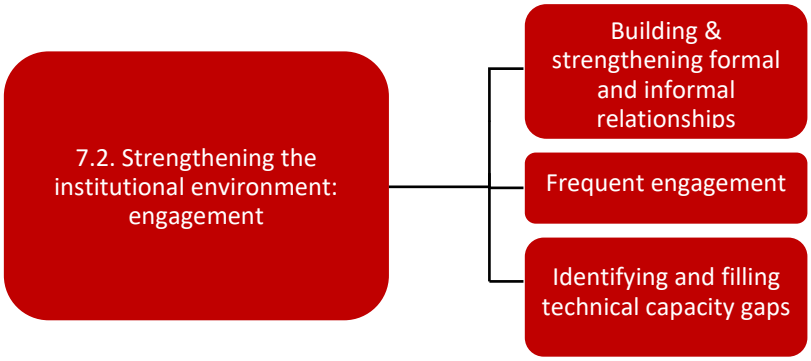
7.2 Strengthening the institutional environment: Engagement with and support to village and district governments

How well CSOs were able to work in different contexts and overcome context barriers to gender inclusion in development decision making was partly contingent on how well they were able to engage both village and district governments in the women's empowerment agenda. This includes creating awareness and gaining the support of authoritative actors to strengthen the policy and program environment so as to improve women's position in government and influence over government priorities, and to accommodate women's needs. Often at both district (and sometimes provincial) and village levels, this involved:

- Building formal partnerships and informal interpersonal and institutional relationships with authoritative actors (particularly government) through frequent engagement,
- Identifying knowledge and capacity gaps of authoritative actors (both state and non-state) in terms of gender awareness and how to support women's empowerment,
- Identifying barriers and gaps in policy frameworks, regulations and programs, and opportunities for affirmative action, so as to introduce new or strengthened policies and programs specifically targeting women's empowerment or their priorities,
- Supplementing knowledge and skills gaps by providing direct inputs into policy framework and program design and, in some cases, co-delivering programs and services,
- Advocating for budgets and staffing to deliver programs targeting women's priorities (particularly at the district level),
- Participating in multi-stakeholder forums and advisory bodies to government (particularly at the district level), and,
- Monitoring progress through data collection and involvement in evaluation.

In particular we discuss many of these dimensions of CSO strategies within the three themes identified in Figure 26. We then further discuss regulatory design and influence in the subsequent section.

Figure 26: CSO Strategies to Influence the Institutional Environment through Engagement


7.2. Strengthening the institutional environment: engagement
Building & strengthening formal and informal relationships
Frequent engagement
Identifying and filling technical capacity gaps

Building and strengthening formal and informal relationships with government actors

It was evident in the research that building formal partnerships and informal interpersonal and institutional relationships with authoritative actors (particularly government) through frequent engagement was instrumental in providing a platform for women's empowerment and women's collective action on the ground. For example, in Cirebon in West Java, 'Aisyiyah used both formal and informal approaches to connect to key government actors in the health sector and beyond so as to build rapport with and gain the support of these actors, particularly before seeking to support women's collective action in villages.

'Aisyiyah undertook focus group discussions with government on key issues in reproductive health and gender awareness, and attended government sectoral agency meetings, particularly in health. It established a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the District Health Office in 2016 so as to collaborate on programs, policy development and initiatives, such as the Program to Increase Reproductive Health Services for Women. At the time of the research, 'Aisyiyah aimed to maintain intensive communication with almost all government offices in the district and had developed key implementation partnerships with the District Office of Population Control, Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (DPPKBP3A, Dinas Pengendalian Penduduk, Keluarga Berencana, Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak), the District Office of Village Community Empowerment (PMD, Dinas Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa), and the District Planning, Development, Research and Improvement Agency (Bappelitbangda, Badan Perencanaan, Pembangungan, Penelitian, dan Pengembangan Daerah). The latter was a key partner for 'Aisyiyah because the agency plays an important role in monitoring and improving performance on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a goal that the district branch of 'Aisyiyah also shares. The Cirebon government had also established a multi-stakeholder forum comprising of numerous CSOs and other stakeholders with which to liaise on key issues related to women and health.

It was important for 'Aisyiyah's work to continuously maintain interpersonal relationships with key government actors and partnerships with offices so as to ensure their discussions were effective in formal settings. In explaining the importance of informal relationships, the Head of the District Branch of 'Aisyiyah in Cirebon said:

> *"It is not that it is ineffective, but in official forums, they tend to be too formal ... the discussion doesn't flow freely. It's not that we never participate in official forums. We do. We participate in task forces, in the District Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, in the SDGs Task Force, and in Bappelitbangda. We often take parts in their formal forums. But lobbying is more effective if it takes place not only in such formal forums."*
> Head of the District Branch of 'Aisyiyah Cirebon, 21 February 2019.

Similarly, in Pangkep, the district partner of KAPAL Perempuan, YKPM (the Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation) sought to develop a close relationship with the district government through the District Head to support the Women's Schools (Sekolah Perempuan) program, through frequent and informal approaches to authoritative actors. The YKPM Director (at the time of the research) had long established ties with government and these connections were instrumental entry points for YKPM to connect to and build trust with strategic government actors. To advance its plans, it met the District Head at his regular coffee shop to discuss their plans to form women's collective action groups throughout the island region through the Women's Schools. This created an open relationship between the District Head and local CSOs seeking to work in the region, and permission was quickly granted to operate in the region through a MoU.

Indeed, across all MAMPU Partners and program regions, between July 2014 and October 2019, 87 MoUs were established to endorse collaborations between CSOs and government or to endorse the programs undertaken by MAMPU Partners in villages. This was a key strategy to open doors in villages and gain at least administrative support for their empowerment activities and support for women in villages.

In Gresik, KAPAL Perempuan and its partners (including KPS2K) conducted gender awareness training for government officials who were already willing to support gender-sensitive planning and budgeting but were unsure about how to progress this, given limited funding and knowledge. In Pangkep, gender awareness training was also conducted by KAPAL Perempuan's local partner, YKPM. Such training was important for relationship building both between CSOs and government agencies, and institution strengthening in that it contributed to skills and knowledge development. Most MAMPU Partners adopted a knowledge transfer strategy to influence key decision makers and to build understanding and awareness of gender inequities and how to improve responses to these. These are just some of the many ways CSOs across the research sites sought to engage with and support government actors so as to bolster support for women's empowerment. This was just as important in the highly conducive contexts for gender inclusion and women's empowerment as it was in those that were least conducive.

Frequent engagement with government agencies and departments

Regular interaction with entire offices of government over time was also important to maintain relationships with authoritative actors, as every change in staff, particularly at the leadership level, could slow policy development. Interviewees from 'Aisyiyah in Cirebon explained how in one case, a draft program had already been discussed at length, planned out in detail, and agreed with the previous officials, but then had to be redrafted because the key official in charge moved on to a new position:

> *"It is really a hassle. In government offices, the change of officials in charge happens so fast. The heads of the district agencies [Kepala Dinas] change positions more than once a year. Changes to positions [often] happen every six months, even every two months. When we visited, the head of the agency was really cooperative. But then she was suddenly replaced. When we visited again, the new head of the office [did not endorse the program] and said 'No, and I don't know where the data is.'* Interviewee, 21 February 2019.

Indeed, such changes in key officials also occurred as a result of elections. Often when a new District Head is elected, key officials and the heads of district agencies also change, which can impede quick action on establishing supportive policy frameworks or programs for women's empowerment, even when inroads have already been made. For example, in East Lombok this was a key challenge encountered by local CSOs and government officials seeking to scale up initiatives in gender mainstreaming.

> *"The obstacles also emerged when there was a change of District Head. We may have had more luck in [quickly achieving our goals], if the District Head was not replaced. Because of district elections [we] waited seven months. The Head of the Department for Gender Mainstreaming was empty for seven months. The process [of establishing our program] had actually been completed, but we were just waiting for the election [to finalise the new appointments in the bureaucracy]."* District government official in DP3AKB, Selong, 3 July 2019.

Across all provinces where CSO Partners undertook activities with MAMPU support, change in government staff or systems was a key challenge encountered by these MAMPU Partners (44 instances). Together with a lack of understanding of gender mainstreaming and knowledge gaps of government decision makers in how to introduce policies and instruments to do so (see Table 4), this slowed progress in building women's empowerment.

To facilitate engagement and overcome these challenges, particularly in new districts where CSOs had not worked before, there were many examples of the informal and formal approaches they used to develop relationships with key government actors and other actors across the research sites, especially prior to developing programs in villages. Aside from frequent and direct personal contact, as well as regular participation in sectoral agency meetings, participation in multi-stakeholder forums was one of the main ways CSOs sought to maintain engagement with government and other influential leaders over time, as was evident above in the discussion of 'Aisyiyah's work. Most CSOs across all the qualitative research sites participated in government-established forums or established these multi-stakeholder forums themselves (sometimes with government, sometimes among organisations outside government, so as to have a clear forum for communication between strategic actors in particular sectors or for tackling particular issues. BaKTI established such multi-stakeholder forums in Makassar for many CSOs with reach in eastern Indonesia, through which participating organisations collectively monitor media, share information, respond together to key issues and programs in the region and coordinate which CSOs are best placed to respond to emerging issues and challenges on the ground.

BaKTI also established its Reses Partisipatif (Participatory Recess) program to advocate for regional parliamentary representatives to collect, advocate, and respond to their constituents' concerns and aspirations. Parliamentary representatives are encouraged to help communities understand legislation through visits, moral and political accountability and communication and outreach (socialisation).

Box 28: BaKTI's Reses Partisipatif

In East Lombok, two District Parliament (DPRD) representatives participated in BaKTI's Reses Partisipatif: Khairul Rizal, who was then the Chairperson of the East Lombok DPRD from the National Democratic Party (Nasdem) and Baiq Nurhasannah, a female council member from PDIP. Good relations between BaKTI and the two representatives also resulted in BaKTI being provided with an office in the East Lombok DPRD building.

This program has mutually benefited women members of parliament and women in villages. One interviewee described how votes for the female district parliamentarian in the Reses Partisipatif more than doubled compared with the 2014 election. She garnered approximately 3,000 votes in 2019, compared with around 1,500 in 2014, although the electoral area for this female parliamentarian did not cover the East Lombok District.

BaKTI also facilitated the establishment of the Women's Development Planning Forum (Musrenbangda or Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah–District-level Deliberative Forum for Development Planning), with one of KAPAL Perempuan's sub-national partners, LPSDM (Lembaga Pengembangan Sumber Daya Mitra—the Partner Resources Development Institute).

These dynamics were also similar in villages. CSOs used both formal and informal approaches to:

- Establish relationships and trust with village leaders before commencing any programs,
- Build gender awareness,
- Strengthen village policy, and
- Seek to change norms with the support of village leadership.

We also see this in other examples where village women and CSOs worked together to build these relationships. For example, KPS2K, together with Women's School group members also successfully advocated on the issue of child marriage in Gresik District:

> *"We made recommendations in the subdistrict and district Musrenbang. KPS2K has always advocated for eliminating child marriage. We approached district government offices and we alerted them to the consequences of child marriages for women's economic wellbeing, domestic violence, maternal mortality, and children's health.*

As a result, in 2018, [the district government] published a circular letter on the elimination of child marriages." Women's School group member, Gresik research 'intervention' village, 19 February 2019.

Other examples of building and strengthening such networks are discussed further below in the sections on building trust and leveraging social networks.

Frequent engagement with influential social leaders

Connecting and maintaining relationships with religious and other influential social organisations was also an important strategy used by many CSOs, both through direct engagement and in indirectly supporting village women to develop such engagement. This was especially true in areas where religious, ethnic, customary (*adat)* and other social leaders were particularly influential. These leaders often have influence over social norms, government and broader policies, and have the trust of communities. Building relationships with these actors was an important strategy for CSOs to reduce the likelihood of encountering resistance to their activities in villages or more widely, and for bolstering support for establishing or working with women's groups in villages. CSOs not only built relationships with such leaders, but also often included them in on-the-ground training and outreach so as to broaden the knowledge of these leaders themselves.

For instance, in North Central Timor, YABIKU engaged with influential societal actors, including *adat* and church leaders. *Adat* leaders were included in the paralegal group, with a prominent leader assigned the position of chairperson. With the church, YABIKU was able to include information on domestic violence in pre-martial courses that prospective spouses must follow before being able to get married in church. Some parishes in the village have also made provisions for the inclusion of women in Church councils, which has led to an increase of involvement of young women in the church.

Similarly, in Tanggamus, the collaboration between DAMAR, the Catholic Women's Organisation (Wanita Katolik) and the Women's Partnership Network (Jaringan Mitra Perempuan)—which was headed by a nun—helped it to gain broad-based community support for its efforts to improve community understanding of women's health, a topic that in many communities is considered to be taboo. Prior to the arrival of DAMAR, the Women's Partnership Network regularly organised information sessions on sexual and reproductive health, but it was only after DAMAR became involved that these activities were opened to the wider (and non-Catholic) population by involving existing organisations at the village level such as the PKK and Posyandu. This was also an important avenue for the CSO to garner support from the village government, as the head of the PKK was also the wife of the Village Head.

Identifying and filling technical capacity and resource gaps for policy design and delivery

Similarly, in other districts, CSOs worked with government agencies and leaders to identify policy gaps, develop a stronger regulatory environment (see also Section 7.3), create better gender awareness, and to supplement skills in policy development and program delivery. In addition to supporting government to design policy instruments (such as regulations and technical instruments) discussed in the next section, many CSOs throughout the research sites helped support and deliver programs with or for government. Such support tended to be based on the sectoral knowledge specific to each MAMPU CSO Partner. Providing such support was a common feature of strategies used in both highly and less conducive contexts for building women's empowerment.

For example, PEKKA in North Hulu Sungai (a moderately conducive context given the openness of the village and district governments to improving gender inclusion) developed relationships with the district government so as to both change the broader enabling environment, but also to gain support to access villages. The field facilitator of PEKKA worked with the District Women's Empowerment and Family Planning Agency to map the villages with high divorce rates and high numbers of female-headed households, which is now data the district uses but was also helpful for PEKKA to determine where there were particularly vulnerable female-headed families at risk.

In Cirebon too (a moderately difficult context), 'Aisyiyah conducted advocacy and support for government to develop a series of programs in reproductive health. In 2018, the District Health Office released a Circular on Cervical Cancer Screening (VIA) and Clinical Breast Screening and a similar Circular on Exclusive Breast Feeding, as one way of tackling stunting. It also helped develop District Regulation No. 1/2018 on the Protection and Empowerment of Women and Children together with other organisations such as Women's Crisis Centre, Mawar Balqis, Fahmina, and Fatayat. Twenty-five community organisations, including 'Aisyiyah, formed the Concern for the Health of Newborns Forum, to also bolster attention for reproductive health and infant health. In Pangkep District (a highly difficult context) and other neighbouring districts, such as Maros District, 'Aisyiyah has worked with government and directly in the field to provide information and services on cervical cancer screening, pap smears, reproductive health and palliative care for cancer patients as well as the elderly, and many other services.

In Central Lombok District (also a moderately difficult context), Migrant CARE and its partner Panca Karsa also provided direct support to the district government to develop its integrated service centre to support migrant workers and their families, particularly those who face challenges overseas and when reintegrating on return to Indonesia. In Gresik and North Lombok Districts (both moderately difficult contexts) and Pangkep (initially a difficult context), KAPAL Perempuan and its local partner CSOs have worked with government to replicate and roll out Women's Schools. BITRA and Yasanti have supported the government leaders at multiple levels to develop the technical instruments for recognising homeworker rights, unions, and to access government support programs.

These are many of the examples of the ways CSOs have sought to directly provide services or to support and supplement capacity gaps in service delivery of government agencies to improve the institutional environment for gender inclusion and attention to women's needs. There were some sectoral differences—those organisations that had skills in specific sectors (such as in health or education) or in tackling specific problems such as trafficking, sexual and domestic violence, labour rights, citizen legibility, were able to provide community services together with, or independently of, government in these discrete sectors and fields. Others that worked on broader cross-cutting issues, such as gender awareness and policy development for gender mainstreaming, tended instead to collaborate on advocacy and policy development at the district level, and broader skills building of women at the village level, while some did both.

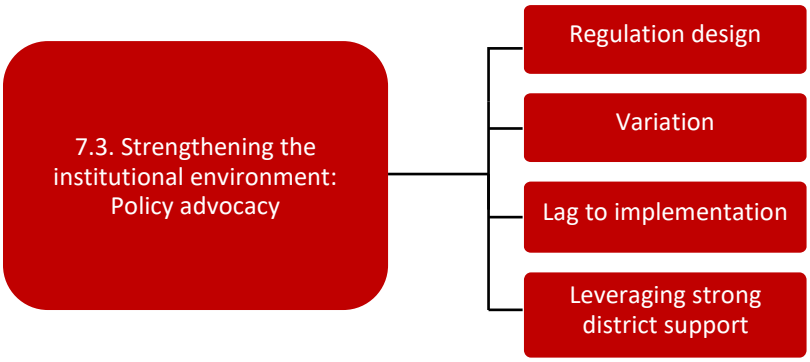
7.3 Strengthening the institutional environment: Policy advocacy to support women's empowerment

While every country differs, in Indonesia policies are created through legislation (at the national level) and regulations (at provincial and district levels) in a way that is highly prescriptive. Often legislation and district and provincial regulations not only outline the guiding principles, but also the priorities, the technical

features of the policy and its implementing arrangements. The legislation also sets out which actors and agencies have authority for implementing the policy (sometimes new agencies are created), often what constitutes transgressions of policies and sanctions, and even in some instances budget priorities and allocations.

Thus, a new priority or policy that is not cemented in regulations is unlikely to be implemented, which is why the policy advocacy and supporting the development of regulations is considered by CSOs to be key to improving gender inclusion, women's influence and everyday wellbeing throughout the country. This is in contrast to other countries where government policies might outline a higher-level set of principles and priorities reflecting the decisions of the government of the day and the broad designated authority and approach for the agencies to take in implementation. In such contexts, however, the aspects of technical implementation, budgets, and specifications of inter-agency relationships and programs tend to be less prescribed in legislation (nationally) or regulations subnationally. These, instead, are left to implementing agencies to develop over time. Thus, in Indonesia, developing regulations is a key policy lever. We discuss the following four aspects that are important for understanding the regulatory environment and CSO efforts to influence this (see Figure 27), although there are likely many more.

Figure 27: The Regulatory Environment and CSO Influence



Contributing to the design of regulations to enact policies supporting women's empowerment

Almost all MAMPU Partners across all the qualitative research sites targeted policy development through the creation of (and input into) regulations to bolster gender inclusion and women's empowerment at both district (sometimes provincial) and village levels (see Annex 4). Simply gaining in-principle commitment from the district and village leadership to support women's empowerment was insufficient for ensuring action on the ground without introducing supporting regulations.

District Regulations enacted through either the district legislature together with the district executive (Perda, Peraturan Daerah), or directly by the District Head or Mayor (Perbup or Perwali, Peraturan Bupati or Peraturan Wali Kota) were a key target of advocacy efforts to create an environment conducive to gender inclusion, women's empowerment and influence at scale and, to a degree, to influence villages. These regulations in some cases were broad-based gender mainstreaming or social security policies so as to influence government agencies widely, and in others were discretely tied to particular sectoral issues of concern such as migrant workers, reproductive health, domestic and other violence prevention and support, and labour rights for homeworkers.

At the community level, under the Village Law, villages too can now create regulations within their authority, which constitute village-level policy frameworks. Given that these are often very directly related to village problems, these tend to be quite discretely focused on changing a particular mechanism in the way decisions are made, or in outlining specific development priorities, sanctions or incentives to encourage or discourage particular behaviours. It is unsurprising then that CSOs targeted their advocacy at formulating and enacting regulations at the district level and, alongside community level activities to support village women, targeted the design and enactment of Village Regulations in their efforts to strengthen the conduciveness of institutional environments to gender inclusion and women's empowerment**.**

Annex 5 outlines all the regulations that were identified in the qualitative research sites, which resulted from CSO advocacy and inputs at district and village levels over time in the 12 research districts/villages and the two control villages (in Gresik and Pangkep Districts). This includes broader, gender inclusion and women's empowerment regulations, and those on specific sectoral issues of concern to women and the CSOs. Some CSOs also targeted provincial level regulations, particularly for issues which cross-cut regions and sectors in a province, such as human trafficking and domestic violence prevention. It is important to remember that under decentralisation in Indonesia, the district has more political and budget authority than the provincial level of government for many sectors, unless the issue of concern crosscuts district boundaries or is specifically designated in national legislation to be within the authority of the province.

The sectoral case studies of MAMPU CSO Partners advocating for improved employment conditions and labour rights (in urban, peri-urban and rural areas), particularly for homeworkers, revealed that they too used the strategy to strengthen the institutional environment through supporting the development of regulations and other policy instruments. While the work of such CSOs tends to occur in peri-urban areas where large industries are situated, they also target both district and village level environments, as village cottage industries supply larger businesses, stores and factories. MAMPU's CSO partners TURC (in Sukabumi, West Java), BITRA (in Deli Serdang, North Sumatra), and Yasanti (in Yogyakarta Province near Central Java) have sought to strengthen policy frameworks at both levels. TURC's advocacy led to the enactment of a District Head Regulation in 2019 on the Strategic Action Plan to Achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. Yasanti's advocacy saw a number of provincial and district-level decisions (from the offices of Manpower and of Cooperatives) introduced to bolster the rights of homeworkers groups to organise through unions, providing them with greater eligibility for government services. Both TURC and Yasanti's programs and advocacy conducted directly and together with the collective action of homeworkers, achieved the passage of village and *kelurahan* (urban precinct)-level regulations, instructions and decisions that registered and supported homeworkers, providing them with increased eligibility for government services. BITRA's advocacy with homeworkers in North Sumatra resulted in homeworkers being included on the list of recipients for free healthcare through the National Health Insurance schemes (BPJS).

District-level regulatory impacts under decentralisation

More widely, in most cases MAMPU Partners across all 27 provinces sought to strengthen the district policy environment, along with that in villages. Indeed, through their lobbying efforts, developing relationships, working with government, and filling technical capacity gaps to design regulations and policy instruments, **all MAMPU Partners** (not just those in the qualitative research sample) **supported the development of some 184 policy instruments at district/municipality level, approximately half of which were finalised** between July 2014 and October 2019 and two thirds of which constituted stronger district/municipal regulations (see Table 5)**.** That is in addition to the 11 national-level policy instruments, including national laws, government

regulations and presidential regulations, and the 10 provincial-level regulations which were the target of CSO advocacy during the same period, many of which at the time of writing were still under discussion (see Table 5).

Village-level regulatory impacts under the Village Law

Similarly, **at the village level**, between July 2014–October 2019, **across the 27 provinces where MAMPU CSO Partners worked, CSOs supported the development of some 341 policy instruments of which two thirds were finalised by October 2019,** and half of which were village/*kelurahan* (187) or customary village (8) regulations (see Table 5). Such changes were particularly significant in influencing the implementation of the Village Law in the 85 cases in which village/*kelurahan* or customary village regulations were enacted.

Table 5: Results of all MAMPU CSO Partner Advocacy: Legislation, Regulations, and Other Policy Instruments in 27 Provinces, 147 Districts/Municipalities and 1,137 Villages, July 2014 - October 2019

Type of Legislation, Regulation, Policy Instrument or Agreement	1. In preparation/ DRAFT	% of Sub-Type Total	2. On Legislative Agenda/ Under discussion	% of Sub-Type Total	3. Passed	% of Sub-Type Total	Total
National level							
National Law	1	12.5%	6	75.0%	1	12.5%	8
National Government Regulation	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1
Presidential Regulation	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	2
						Subtotal	**11**
Provincial Level							
Governor Regulation (Pergup)	3	50.0%	2	33.3%	1	16.7%	6
Letter of Instruction (SK)—Governor	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%	4
						Subtotal	**10**
District Level							
District Head/Mayor Regulation (Perbup/Perwali)	16	25.8%	23	37.1%	23	37.1%	62
District Government Regulation (Perda)	19	30.2%	24	38.1%	20	31.7%	63
District/Provincial Office of Manpower Regulation	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%	5
Letter of Instruction (SK) - District Head/Mayor	3	10.3%	7	24.1%	19	65.5%	29
Letter of Instruction (SK) - District Government Agency Head	0	0.0%	2	18.2%	9	81.8%	11
Letter of Explanation - District Agency Head	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3
Official Circular/Instruction - District Government	0	0.0%	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	6
Official Circular/Instruction - District Agency Head	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5
						Subtotal	**184**
Subdistrict Level							
Letter of Instruction (SK) – Subdistrict	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	**1**
Village/Kelurahan (Urban Precinct)/Customary Village Level							
Village or Kelurahan Regulation (Perdes)	21	11.7%	75	41.9%	83	46.4%	179
Customary Village (Nagari/Negeri) Regulation	2	25.0%	4	50.0%	2	25.0%	8
Letter of Instruction (SK) - Village or Kelurahan Government	3	15.8%	0	0.0%	16	84.2%	19
Letter of Instruction (SK) - Village Head or Kelurahan Head	0	0.0%	1	1.5%	64	98.5%	65
Letter of Instruction (SK) - School Principal	0	0.0%	1	1.4%	68	98.6%	69
Official Circular/Instruction – Village	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1
						Subtotal	**341**
Other technical instruments							
Standard Operating Procedures/Technical Guidelines	5	31.3%	5	31.3%	6	37.5%	16
Government Action Plan	2	18.2%	6	54.5%	3	27.3%	11
Government Strategic Plan	0	0.0%	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8
						Subtotal	**35**

Type of Legislation, Regulation, Policy Instrument or Agreement	1. In preparation/ DRAFT	% of Sub-Type Total	2. On Legislative Agenda/ Under discussion	% of Sub-Type Total	3. Passed	% of Sub-Type Total	Total
Other agreements and collaborations between CSOS and government							
MoU between CSO and Government (whole of government or specific agency)	11	12.6%	18	20.7%	58	66.7%	87
Joint Letter of Agreement	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1
						Subtotal	**88**
GRAND TOTAL	**79**	11.8%	**161**	24.0%	**334**	49.9%	**670**

Variation—onset conditions, speed of uptake, and advocacy targets

Drawing on the qualitative research, in Annex 5 it is evident that prior to the commencement of MAMPU in 2013, in some research sites, CSOs had long begun to advocate for gender inclusion and women's empowerment and in others, political leaders undertook their own initiatives to improve gender inclusion, although the latter was more often than not the result of advocacy from civil society. As a result of this, in some of the moderately conducive districts (and those moderately difficult districts where the district environment had a greater degree of conduciveness than the village environment), district (and sometimes provincial) regulations had already begun to be introduced to strengthen the policy environment so as to be more inclusive of women and their needs. This includes, among others, Lampung, Bantul, East Lombok, and Gresik. Thus, when MAMPU provided support to their partners in these regions they were able to quickly focus on more discrete sectoral initiatives and/or village level activities given the onset conditions for strengthening women's empowerment were already conducive to the partners' agenda.

This was certainly the case in Lampung Province where Tanggamus District is located. MAMPU's partner DAMAR had long worked at the provincial level to improve the policy environment for women's empowerment, child protection, and services to support victims of violence (see also Section 3). Support from MAMPU—through the consortium PERMAMPU, of which DAMAR is a member—helped DAMAR to build on and scale up these earlier advocacy efforts that had already gained traction with policy makers in the region. This included concrete support for DAMAR's work with the Tanggamus district government to further develop clear district policies and frameworks supporting women's empowerment.[17] It was also able to focus on a broader women's rights agenda beyond its sectoral concerns of violence against women and to spread and embed advocacy efforts in concrete village-level activities where village women could experience on-the-ground benefits.

The Gresik District was also an early mover in gender mainstreaming, which was the result of advocacy of local CSOs and early impacts of the Gender Watch program. Regulations were introduced from 2012 to strengthen gender-sensitivity in district planning and budgeting. Given the broad openness to women's empowerment signified by the 2012 regulation, when MAMPU Partner KAPAL Perempuan together with its local partner KPS2K commenced its new program supported by MAMPU in Gresik in 2014, they managed to quickly gain a degree of commitment from the district government to the agenda through their engagement

[17] While districts such as South Lampung and the Bandar Lampung Municipality have begun to introduce district-level regulations related to empowerment, this has not specifically been the case in Tanggamus.

strategies. An MoU was established in 2014 between the three parties and signified commitment from each to seek to improve women's participation and resolve women's issues in villages, and endorsement from the district government for KP2SK's Women's Schools activities in villages.

Indicating Gresik District's support for more attention to gender mainstreaming, the District Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency (Dinas KBPPA) was upgraded to a full district sectoral agency in 2016. In district development planning processes that always involve a Musrenbang, a special Musrenbang was introduced for women so as to better hear their priorities and include these in the planning agenda. KAPAL Perempuan and its partner KPS2K used informal engagement approaches to gain the commitment of influential actors in the district government to their agenda, which culminated in more formal endorsement and outcomes of institutional strengthening for women's empowerment and policy and program support to replicate the Women's Schools in other villages (See Box 29).

Box 29: Gender Mainstreaming in Gresik

The regulatory environment in Gresik was first bolstered by CSOs in the program Gender Watch. In addition to introducing gender-responsive budgeting and planning in 2012, what was initially a sub-office was upgraded to a full District Sectoral Agency for Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in 2016, signifying a conducive context for further building institutional support for women's empowerment. In the 2012 regulation, government units were directed to be gender-responsive in their programs and funds allocated for gender-responsive programs. In 2014, KAPAL Perempuan and KPS2K gained support for their planned activities from the district government through establishing an MoU, and from that point forward they were able to commence their engagement with various villages to seek to establish village-level Women's School groups.

In 2016, concurrent with the change in government at the district level, KPS2K used a direct, personal approach to engage key young actors in the District Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) and the Dinas KBPPA. These actors were considered to be both open-minded and in strategic positions of influence, particularly given their authority in developing the District Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) and their capacity to navigate the bureaucracy and frame women's empowerment in the appropriate language for the bureaucracy. The personal approach then resulted in government efforts to accommodate the interests of women and children by initiating a regional development planning forum (Musrenbang) especially for women and children.

"Recommendations related to women's needs are heard [in the forum]. [For] the Musrenbang Perempuan, besides inviting women's organisations, we also invite women at the grassroots level, because we want to have a clear picture of what their basic needs are. Their needs are not usually echoed in the media, nor heard in [conventional] forums, so women are more reluctant to have a voice. When they are among fellow women, we can know 'oh what women need is this, or that', so we can focus more on what they actually need." Interview with BAPPEDA staff, 26 February 2019.

The KAPAL Perempuan/KPS2K strategy of working with strategic actors in the bureaucracy also resulted in changes to the nomenclature and priorities outlined in the District Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency Budget in 2018 to provide support for KAPAL Perempuan/KPS2K's Women's Schools and a district policy to replicate the Women's Schools in 10 other villages. This was given further endorsement through its inclusion in the Gresik District Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD) for 2016–2021.

Despite regulations allowing for gender-responsiveness and the policies to support empowerment initiatives on the ground, there have nonetheless been weaknesses in some aspects of the implementation of gender mainstreaming at the district level in sectoral agencies as they have sometimes not known how to translate gender mainstreaming in their program and policies. KAPAL Perempuan and its subnational partner KP2SK have conducted training with some agencies to improve this process.

Some districts did not have this strong existing policy environment to empower women, but did have the openness and political willingness to quickly develop such efforts following advocacy and the support of CSOs

to provide technical inputs into how such instruments should be designed. North Hulu Sungai is a relatively poor region compared with other research districts in terms of its economic development, but it was very open to change and was quick to work with CSOs to improve its policy environment by 2015. The existing policy environment prior to mid-2014 (the point at which CSO partners began to be able to draw on MAMPU support after the planning period) and political willingness and openness to quickly improve the policy environment to support women's empowerment were two key indicators of conduciveness.

In areas with moderately difficult and difficult policy and institutional environments for women's empowerment, **CSOs targeted much of their district-level efforts on improving these environments, with achievements made over time at the district level in almost all regions where the qualitative research was conducted** (See Annex 5). CSOs had to overcome deliberate resistance to the agenda, limited and changing commitments or other political priorities (such as elections) to make headway. These issues accounted for one of the five key challenges to improving women's empowerment across all 27 provinces where CSOs worked with MAMPU support (see Table 4). For example, initially, East Lombok (a moderately difficult context) and Pangkep Districts (a difficult context) had less conducive environments to women's empowerment. However, the CSO strategic and adaptive strategies to influence these contexts resulted in the enactment of District Regulations with a wide scope to either support gender mainstreaming, or the introduction of protection for and empowerment of women and children. This is in addition to sectoral-focused regulations that were also enacted in these two districts and all other highly, moderately, and least conducive regions encountered in the districts, with the exception of the two difficult regions.

In two of the most difficult areas identified in the qualitative research, Bangkalan and Labuhan Batu Districts, MAMPU CSO Partners also targeted collaborative approaches to gain the support of district decision makers but have had to work more slowly and incrementally to gain support. In both districts, MoUs were achieved between district agencies and MAMPU's Partners and work at the time of the research continued their efforts to influence the creation of new regulations and policy instruments, which would have widespread implications for women's empowerment, especially at the village level. However, PEKKA (Bangkalan) and FPL/SPI (Labuhan Batu) sequenced their efforts to first target smaller initiatives, particularly at the village level so as to first build trust by demonstrating the benefits of their initiatives, and to slowly influence both leaders and communities to be more gender inclusive in village development (see further discussion on building trust below).

Thus, we can see how CSOs used ***adaptive strategies*** in women's empowerment relevant to the environments in which they worked. They adapted their approaches based on:

- The history of their work or that of other CSOs, leaders and champions of women's empowerment in each region,
- The degree to which the existing institutional and policy environment had already begun to give attention to women's empowerment,
- How open and willing authoritative leaders were to quickly strengthen the policy environment—often there was willingness, but little knowhow, and in such instances CSOs supplemented their technical capacity to formulate new regulations, and
- Identifying the appropriate level (district or village) to aim for early wins while seeking to influence change at scale and sequencing activities accordingly.

We can see in Annex 5, in almost all research sites **it was approximately three years after CSOs commenced, or scaled up, their advocacy efforts to strengthen the institutional and policy environment, with MAMPU's**

support, before there were indications of significant shifts in the policy environment through the enactment of new regulations that would inform institutional change to support gender-sensitive governance, budget allocation, and programs**.** This tended to be slightly faster for sectoral-focused initiatives, and slightly longer in districts less conducive to the uptake of an empowerment agenda. Most regulations began to be enacted between 2017-2018, with a few regulations being introduced in 2015-2016 in moderately or more highly conducive areas. These efforts took longer in the most difficult areas too and regulations began to be enacted in 2018-2019 and at the time the research was conducted the process was ongoing.

Lag to implementation

In Indonesia, after (often highly prescriptive) policies are enacted, a series of highly detailed technical implementing guidelines then need to be developed at the relevant level of government and authorised by those with the designated authority (usually government agency heads at all levels). This is the case with national legislation or Provincial/District Regulations enacted by regional legislatures (provincial or district DPRD) and district/provincial administrations, or regulations enacted directly by District Heads and Governors. These implementing regulations and implementation guidelines outline the ways agencies should design programs, allocate human and financial resources, and inform civil servants within the bureaucracy as to how policies will be implemented. Sectoral agency staff at the national, provincial, and district levels then closely follow these regulations to implement policies and programs. This is particularly important for policies that create pathways for programs to be enacted with budget/staffing allocations.

Thus, even when policies are enacted through legislation or regulations, there is often a **lag to implementation so that there is time to develop the implementing regulations/technical guidelines and to align with annual budget cycles**. The length of time to develop these policy instruments depends on the complexity of the new policy and the degree to which change is wide-reaching and involves multiple agencies, or is a smaller initiative of less complexity or confined to one agency.

In the case that a policy enacted through a regulation is not perceived to require significant funding and staffing, or is quite discrete and the policy change has already been planned for, the research found it usually takes between 6-12 months after ratification for the policy to be enacted through technical regulations and even longer for programs to be implemented. This might be the case for broad regulations prioritising, for example, women's empowerment, without clearly prescribed programs—authoritative actors can nail their commitment to the mast without a significant shift in business-as-usual budget allocation processes. The process is likely to take a similar time if a particular 'policy', albeit more complex, is one of the handful that the President, Governor, District Head or Mayor designates for fast-tracking—government agency staff will then prioritise finalising the technical implementing regulations and instruments and lobby for budget allocations so as to be able to launch programs. Even then, it is unlikely that policies equate to on-the-ground programs in under 12-18 months, as they also need to align with the yearly funding allocation in the budget cycle, which in and of itself is a contested process involving negotiation between sectoral agencies to access the funding pot.

On the whole, however, after regulations have been passed, district-level policy changes that have programs and budgets attached, usually take between one year to 18 months (sometimes two or three years) for changes to be implemented on the ground unless there is significant pre-planning. With a

significant degree of coordination, multi-stakeholder commitment, and pre-planning, this process may be sped up to one year (although this tended not to be the norm in the research sites) if:

- Pre-planning has taken place for budget allocations (assuming the regulations/legislations are already drafted and there is pre-existing broad-based in principle support from authoritative actors),
- Technical guidelines have already been developed, and
- Programs have already been designed (often with the support of CSOs in the case of women's empowerment) or can be scaled up and out.

It is clear to understand why long-term commitment is needed to begin to see real changes in women's empowerment on the ground in areas of Indonesia where there are few indicators of existing gender-sensitive policy making and programs. With sustained and ongoing advocacy from civil society, shifting the regulatory and institutional environment tends to take three years, followed by between one to two years to establish programs. That does not include the time to actually deliver, evaluate, improve, and begin to see the impacts of on-the-ground empowerment initiatives at scale. In many ways, after seven years of MAMPU support for some of its CSO partners, it was towards the end of the program that the real women's empowerment impacts were beginning to be strongly felt in districts.

Across the qualitative research areas, institutional change was fastest in more conducive areas, and slowest, but nonetheless achievable in the least conducive areas. Beyond the research sites, across the 147 districts and municipalities where MAMPU CSO Partners were supported in 27 provinces, significant change has resulted in the regulatory environment. Unsurprisingly, few regulations were passed before 2016 in the few years after MAMPU commenced but then we begin to see real change by mid-2017. **Most of those district/municipal government (and district head/mayoral) and village-level regulations which MAMPU Partners across the provinces targeted that have now been passed were enacted in 2018-2019, with fewer being passed in 2017; approximately half were still in progress at the end of 2019.**

Leveraging strong district institutional support to overcome challenges in villages

While places such as Gresik, East Lombok and Central Lombok Districts were considered to have moderately conducive district-level environments for supporting gender women's empowerment at the onset of the MAMPU program—because the institutional environments had already begun to give at least some attention to women's empowerment or there was political willingness to do so (see, for example, the situation in Box 29)—they were nonetheless considered to be moderately difficult environments overall when village dynamics were taken into account. Many villages in these districts were disinterested in supporting gender inclusion and women's empowerment, including the research 'intervention' villages in Gresik, East Lombok and Central Lombok and the research 'control' village in Gresik where there was no presence of active CSOs and little support for women's empowerment initiatives at the time of the research. In Cirebon, the situation in villages was more varied, with some being more open to supporting gender inclusion and women's empowerment with CSO support. In Cirebon too, while there were few indicators of district support early on in the program, decision makers were not entirely closed off to the idea. In the highly difficult regions, there was very little interest and sometimes resistance among the leadership to improving gender inclusion in decision making at both levels.

Indeed, limited engagement, commitment or deliberate resistance to the empowerment agenda by leaders (government or social leaders) at district or village levels was one of the five key problems encountered by all MAMPU CSO Partners across the 27 provinces (see Table 4). CSOs reported 142 instances of where there was

such deliberate resistance to or outright rejection of empowerment initiatives—not forgetting that the highly bureaucratised structure of governance in Indonesia makes it difficult to commence on-the-ground programs with villagers without at least administrative permission from either district, municipal or village officials. A further 66 instances were reported where leaders at various levels, or key business people (as potential partners who work in employment conditions and labour rights) gave initial verbal or on-paper support but then did not follow through, reneged on or changed their commitments (see Table 4). In addition, it is difficult to tell what proportion of the further 118 instances of scheduling difficulties with actors at different levels encountered in the project were a part of their efforts to avoid engagement with CSOs. In the face of resistance or apathy, the CSOs in this study and beyond pursued long-term strategies of finding ways to build the trust and interest of the leadership, and identifying and working with champions who had connections to and influence with key decision makers (see further discussion below).

Resistance or apathy among decision makers, unsurprisingly, slowed or made it incredibly difficult to make inroads in providing support to women on the ground. **All in all, between nearly one quarter of the reported instances of impediments to building women's empowerment encountered by all MAMPU Partners across 27 provinces (as of October 2019) resulted from deliberate resistance, unfulfilled commitments or minimal engagement from key decision makers.**

However, when there was support from district decision makers, to varying degrees and at different points in time during the life of the program, this proved useful for CSO approaches to access villages and in some instances to overcome resistance. For example, in the research 'intervention' village in Gresik discussed in Box 29, in which KAPAL Perempuan and its partner KPS2K undertook initiatives to support village women to establish a Women's School group, KPS2K initially faced resistance from the village leadership and other actors to it establishing its programs and women's groups in the village. Some village leaders and community members perceived that the Women's Schools were not focused exclusively on productive economic activities and were therefore not a priority. Influential actors also feared their work would disrupt social norms in which men tended to be key decision makers or involved in village decision-making forums.

In its adaptive strategy to overcome these challenges, KPS2K sought support from the district-level decision makers with whom they had already engaged to endorse their village level activities. They then used this support and permission from the district government to pressure village decision makers to allow Women's School members to participate in village forums—eventually village women who were members of the Women's Schools were able to collectively pressure the village government to provide funds from the village budget to also support their Schools.

This process also worked in reverse over time. Following the success and popularity of its Women's Schools, in Gresik, North Lombok, the Pangkep Islands and other places, KAPAL Perempuan and its partners have used early success from the villages where they first commenced their program to pressure and encourage district governments to scale out these programs to other villages in the districts. The Schools demonstrably gave women more power, skills and voice, and also improved economic opportunities in many villages. The success of the Women's Schools was considered by the district government to be a strong model for improving gender equity and achieving the district goals of gender mainstreaming and regional development. It therefore committed budget allocations to support the scale out the initiative to at least 10 other villages in Gresik (at the time of the research). In North Lombok, the initiative was replicated to all villages, and in Pangkep District it was also been scaled out with the support of the district government. CSOs did not undertake this advocacy alone—village participants from some of the Women's Schools in Gresik and

Pangkep participated in the district advocacy efforts to lobby the government for support to roll out the initiative in other villages.

7.4 Building a network of champions: Creating or augmenting political will for change

District-level champions of the women's empowerment agenda, particularly those occupying influential positions in either the legislature or in the executive, or situated within the networks of power close to government, also helped create a more conducive institutional environment for gender inclusion and women's empowerment by fostering political will among other authoritative actors. This in turn interacted with the ways in which women were able to influence the implementation of the Village Law. In some instances, these champions existed prior to the implementation of MAMPU program initiatives, and in other cases women and CSOs (sometimes together, sometimes separately and sometimes at different levels) helped create a network of champions.

In many cases in the research sites, district (and provincial) champions helped garner politico-economic support for regulations, policies, programs, sectoral budgets and other changes in the institutional environment that supported women's empowerment. That is, given their influence and reach, they were helpful for building political and public support for women's collective action to address the issue in question. Such support was a part of the broader women's networked collective action processes discussed in Section 5, which involves the efforts of village women, CSOs and other authoritative actors together endeavouring to create change. We saw in Section 5 that networked collective action was an important and prevalent form of women's collective action in most of the research areas, but particularly in difficult contexts.

For example, in Central Lombok, Panca Karsa initially approached the Employment and Transmigration Agency (Disnakertrans, Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi) to seek support for regulations to protect migrant workers, but this was rejected. It then it shifted its attention to a government official, the District's First Assistant Secretary, who had shown a particular interest in migrant workers issues (See Section 3). Migrant CARE, Panca Karsa and women from the research village lobbied this champion to take up their cause. The First Assistant Secretary, due to his own personal experience, became a champion for increasing regulatory protections for migrant workers and lobbied for support from other government officials. Migrant CARE and Panca Karsa then supported the District Legislature to develop the new regulations. This illustrates how garnering political support for gender inclusion more widely helps create conducive contexts by reducing barriers for support for women on the ground.

For this reason, one of BaKTI's key program strategies entails is building a network of champions in parliament through its Reses Partisipatif program described above in Box 28. In Pangkep, the Head of the District Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) also became a champion for gender mainstreaming. He created an office to coordinate activities and seek funding for activities from across agencies.

> *"We have this one room in Bappeda that we prepared for all NGO programs so that we can sit together. This includes for MAMPU, Oxfam, KOMPAK, and HKI Helen Keller. We also give a lot of scope to coordinate with related government offices. The function of Bappeda is to facilitate the coordination of communication with other government offices, which includes our four working groups in Bappeda. This means that success cannot be solely achieved as there are other influencing factors. That's why we hope that [NGO] programs collaborate with others,*

[and activities] are either funded by the district budget, or from other sources." Head of Pangkep Bappeda, 19 February 2019.

In Tanggamus District, DAMAR replicated the strategy of the wider PERMAMPU consortium of mapping of influential actors in the province and district. It made use of its network of partners across Lampung Province, and Tanggamus District, to identify key actors to be invited to participate in the regional Multi-stakeholder Forum (FMS, Forum Multi-Stakeholder) that it established, which then became an important source of influence for giving greater attention to women's empowerment in government and non-government policies and programs (see Box 30).

Box 30: CSO-established Multi-stakeholder Forums (FMS) in Lampung and Tanggamus

At the time of the research, both DAMAR and FAKTA had developed good relations with government offices at the district level, particularly the Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, the Health Office, and Office of the Empowerment of People and Villages. To leverage this relationship, FAKTA-DAMAR established the FMS in Tanggamus, inviting a wide range of government offices to participate that were previously identified through DAMAR social mapping.

The FMS was established to gather aspirations and initiatives from local government leaders, so they could become champions and be more likely to collaborate with DAMAR in education and services on sexual and reproductive health rights issues. The forum also provided DAMAR an opportunity to introduce their programs, and to gain support from the heads of the villages they targeted for intervention. The Village Head in the research village, for example, gave support because he has similar vision and missions to DAMAR.

"I came after DAMAR's second invitation. At first, I was not really interested in CSOs. CSOs here [in Lampung] are different from CSOs in Java. Here they are looking for money. But when I attended DAMAR's forum, I saw that [DAMAR] was different. The trainers, speakers, and correspondents, everyone is credible with strong educational backgrounds and they know what they are talking about. [I found out] apparently [DAMAR's agenda] is women's empowerment and it appealed to me." Former Village Head, Lampung research village, 7 July 2019.

Some influential champions with policymaking authority also originated from CSOs who then joined government. This was the case in East Nusa Tenggara in North Central Timor (TTU) District, when one of the women deeply involved in the women's movement in the region was elected to the local legislature, which we saw in the case study Story of Change in TTU in Section 4. Her election helped to promote the issues of key concern to women in the region and she was able to advocate first through her own party faction, and then to others in the bureaucracy and legislature of the importance of giving attention priorities for women in the region.

"I tried to become like a funnel to influence all the factions. To influence them through personal relationships. Then, I organised events [at the offices of the local parliament] to bring them together and invited my NGO friends to come [to discuss] the impacts of violence on women's reproductive health. After that, together with YABIKU, we devised our strategy because this had been the TTU community's dream, especially for women who care about victims of violence. The TTU NGOs, together, drew on that power and we went to the local parliament for a hearing and asked the DPR to immediately draft the local regulation." Former TTU District Representative, 26 June 2019.

This helped smooth the pathway for the ratification of several District Regulations on women's empowerment, child protection and domestic violence prevention. The (former) TTU District parliamentarian used her interpersonal networks with key leaders in the district government to strengthen support for new regulations and programs and for collaboration between government and CSOs.

However, if advocacy efforts are reliant on single champions alone—without other supportive coalitions, actors and institutions—when they lose their influence there is a risk that any prior progress made will stall. For example, if a champion loses their seat in parliament and their prior efforts have not already become entrenched in policies, institutional practices and regulatory frameworks, there may not be lasting change. This has been a risk in TTU since the former head of the CSO YABIKU lost her seat and has returned to CSO work. A YABIKU staff member explained:

> *"It was an advantage that one of our people was elected, because… not everyone understands the conditions women face. Yes, when Yohana joined the local parliament it really helped. Not just YABIKU, but it helped all of the related organisations [who work] on women's and children's issues. So then when [she] was not re-elected, we thought 'oh no' that would make our work really difficult. Who would want to help us now?"* YABIKU staff member, 26 June 2019.

Interviewees saw that the return of this former parliamentary leader to CSO work was helpful for the organisation and important for strengthening their grassroots work given her strong leadership role in the organisation. Some of the Village Regulations developed as a result of women's collective action in the research village were yet to be ratified at the time of the research as there were fewer pressures from the district to continue to work on strengthening the regulatory environment so as to better protect victims of domestic violence. Her return to the organisation is seen as a positive to move this agenda along.

Finding champions, and working at both levels, often with government and other actors to show them how to improve policies and programs, also allowed CSOs to leverage their relationships and champions at one level to engage resistant actors at the other.

7.5 Using discourse and tailoring priorities: Framing agendas to be aligned with economic and other village/district interests

As was first introduced in Section 3, the extent to which the advocacy and collective action efforts undertaken by MAMPU CSO Partners were able to influence district and provincial policy makers was in part contingent on whether these focus issues were already considered a priority problem for redress in the district prior to these CSOs beginning or upscaling their programs. In situations in which the district leadership had already identified similar issues as a policy or funding priority that was of concern to a women's CSO, or when the issue was already discursively embedded in public debates as one of public interest (such as protection for migrant workers at risk of exploitation overseas or facing challenges on return to Indonesia), it was easier for CSOs and women's groups to gain broad support for their advocacy efforts. This was the case even in the most challenging of environments. Actions that sought to address such challenges also had a greater likelihood of having lasting effects, even after short-term collective efforts to improve the situation of women at risk.

Important in this process was the ways that CSOs framed their projects and interventions in villages and districts in their initial engagement strategies with influential actors so as to depict a degree of alignment with district political interests and policy priorities, even if their agenda was wider or different to that of these influential actors. How programs were discursively depicted in turn shaped how they were perceived by influential actors. This had implications for district support (and administrative permission) for these CSOs to embark on or continue activities in villages, particularly on difficult social issues such as domestic violence and knowledge in reproductive health. This was equally important at the village level as it was at the district

level, particularly in places with little history of supporting gender inclusion and empowerment initiatives. CSOs were most successful when they could frame their work in alignment with the economic and other interests that were already of priority to the village and district.

For example, in supporting female heads of families, PEKKA usually endeavours to roll out its KLIK program (Village Consultation and Information Service, Klinik Layanan Informasi dan Konsultasi) in most villages where it works. As we saw in the Bangkalan Story of Change, KLIK assists people to obtain vital administrative documents such as birth and marriage certificates, as well as identity and family cards, which are important documents for accessing government services. However, this is not necessarily the way the organisation initially gains support for its programs. At the time of the research, one of the core challenges for the district government and the research village in North Hulu Sungai was limited livelihoods opportunities, particularly for poor villages. This is an acute problem in the research village where very small businesses (such as kiosks and snack production) had failed and there were few livelihoods opportunities.

Thus, when PEKKA approached district and village actors in North Hulu Sungai, it framed much of its engagement around supporting livelihoods diversification for women, albeit with a continued focus on female-headed families but also more widely. As women needed business capital, PEKKA helped village women and the village government to establish small cooperative groups and took initiative to support the village government to establish a village-owned enterprise (BUMDes). Members of the village's Pekka union attended a BUMDes training in Jakarta, and the village government involved them in all the district-level trainings, in which the Village Head also participated. The Story of Change is overviewed in Box 31 below.

Box 31: Story of Change in North Hulu Sungai—A Case Study of PEKKA Support for Village Women and the Establishment of the BUMDes

Women in the North Hulu Sungai District in South Kalimantan have worked collectively to economically empower themselves and to advocate for change so that village governance is more inclusive. In this village natural resources are scarce and women have had limited livelihood and self-development opportunities and historically have not been involved in decision-making processes about village development. The arrival of PEKKA and the women's groups it established—Pekka unions in the form of savings and loans groups—provided new hope and options for women facing severe economic challenges.

Economic empowerment activities were the entry point for organising village women in the North Hulu Sungai research village. PEKKA encouraged women to form a savings and loan group, called the Papadaan Group. This group has provided opportunities for village women, especially the female heads of families (such as widows), to access loans and get business training so that they can earn an independent income. Moreover, this group has become the vehicle through which women have participated in village development decision making.

Due to the popularity of this savings and loans group, married women also expressed interest in joining the group and its activities. PEKKA responded flexibly in the spirit of inclusiveness, forming a new category of membership called "extraordinary" PEKKA members to accommodate these women. These married women who contribute to their family economies then formed another group, known as the Setia Kawan (Loyal Friends) group. As Farah, the head of the Setia Kawan group described, group saving was a popular drawcard for new members.

"I said that it would be good if those who were active in the group saved every month, so that if we were short on money or wanted to establish a rice field we could borrow [from the group]. And if we have a really important need [for money] we can borrow. If we don't borrow, we can help friends to get benefits. She [a potential new member] was immediately interested." Farah, North Hulu Sungai research village, 13 July 2019.

Through joining both these women's collectives, women in the village have built their practical, organisational and influencing skills and now have the self-confidence to increase their participation in the public sphere, interact with

public institutions, and are increasingly empowered economically. In regular group meetings they have practiced public speaking but have also learned a variety of other more tangible skills. By participating in PEKKA's Paradigta Academy, some women have also learned about government systems, village budget processes, and advocacy strategies to voice women's policy needs in their village. They have also built networks with other women and with influential village actors and other leaders.

"It was about increasing gender equality. Women must be equal, so that they are not underestimated. Women are often underestimated." Rina, North Hulu Sungai research village, 16 July 2019.

Such women's groups, with the support of PEKKA, have created significant change. Women from the village Pekka groups initiated the establishment of a village-owned enterprise to develop the village economy, which was legalised through Village Regulation No. 4/2015. To draft the Village Regulation, village women in North Hulu Sungai worked together with village, subdistrict and district governments.

Women's participation in village development has increased the funds allocated for women's programs and activities and ensured women's political representation in village meetings. In MusDes, women have successfully made proposals for village budget allocations to procure medical equipment, fund the Posyandu, and purchase musical instruments. The participation of women in village meetings was also codified through the 2019 Decision of the Subdistrict Head No. 5 about the involvement of women's organisation representatives in development planning meetings (Musrenbang).

"Now we directly propose [at the Village Meeting]: 'Pak [we say to the Village Head], us women want to propose this.' We first proposed the purchasing of medical equipment in 2016." Aminah, North Hulu Sungai research village, 15 July 2019.

Members of Pekka women's union groups also have assisted community members to apply for legal identity documents so that they can access government social protection programs through PEKKA's Village Consultation and Information Service Clinic. This clinic provides information and consultation services for issues about legal identity, marital and domestic problems, and access to government-provided support for social protection.

In the North Hulu Sungai research village, economic empowerment activities have been an effective strategy in encouraging rural women to participate in women's collective action. Women in North Hulu Sungai have developed their economic and political capacity and strengthened their role in their community's development and village government policy.

Supporting BUMDes development aligned with the broader Village Law priorities in the North Hulu Sungai village outlined in District Regulation No. 5/2017 and district priorities, and proved popular with the village government and women alike.

However, in the Bangkalan research village, where PEKKA has also supported village women, the village government was initially resistant to any new initiatives, but particularly those that might affect the village budget or village priorities. Options like the BUMDes or other initiatives that might require village funding were initially not possible. Instead, PEKKA highlighted the benefits of its KLIK program for the village government in terms of its popularity among villagers and political and other benefits (more access for villagers to government social protection programs through greater citizen legibility) that might flow from the program. As we saw in Section 4, this initiative proved popular with the village government and villagers alike and was important for building trust in its activities. Eventually, women's groups participated in meetings with the village government and lobbied for the development of a Village Regulation on Marriage Verification. With a small allocation from the village budget, poorer village residents now gain support from the village for pro bono marriage certification.

7.6 Building trust: Sequencing of entry

Knowing which influential actors to engage and how to engage them, including the most resistant actors, and how to reach these actors and influence their views is key to developing relationships before pursuing more formal channels, particularly in areas where CSOs have not worked before. In the research sites, this required careful sequencing—particularly at the village level to respond to the local context—to gain the trust of both influential leaders and villagers. In challenging contexts for example, CSOs did not begin with advocacy for policy change or for funding for women's collective action, but rather with trust building activities. We can see the careful sequencing that PEKKA used to access and build trust in the Bangkalan and North Hulu Sungai research villages discussed in the previous section.

In North Hulu Sungai, PEKKA branch staff first attended the subdistrict forums that involved Village Heads. Prior to this, PEKKA approached the subdistrict government to gain information about the scheduling of the meetings. Through the forums, PEKKA provided information about their programs to the attending Village Heads, for which they received positive responses. Second, PEKKA approached each of the village governments in the subdistrict, visiting each of the six villages where they work. Third, PEKKA branch staff also attended *pengajian* (prayer group religious activities) in the village to get to know the villagers informally. Through these religious activities, PEKKA started to introduce their programs to the villagers by sharing information.

When PEKKA entered the village with more formal programs, it did so through the village government and existing institutions, including farming groups in which women were active. This greatly assisted the smooth entry of the CSO into the village. PEKKA also proved itself to be adaptable to the specific context in which it found itself. In some contexts, women wanted to join, but did not meet the criteria of being the head of the family. PEKKA therefore added an additional membership category (*luar biasa* or 'extraordinary') to enable these women to join.

Over time they were then able to undertake more concrete activities and work with women's groups in a variety of capacities (including to undertake many of the initial steps to establish the BUMDes), and to help them diversify their membership to include other women, including female-headed families. They increased their Pekka union membership and many village women have gone on to have influence in the village and district forums.

In Bangkalan, a district that is characterised by very strong patriarchal family structures, support from influential individuals and institutions was crucial before PEKKA entered the village. PEKKA started by mapping the most important actors in the village (see further discussion below) and based on this, approached both the village and hamlet heads, as well as influential women with connections to leaders. Through approaching these actors, it gained permission to conduct activities in the village. Upon entering the village, PEKKA organised identity documents for these leaders, which was important to gain more support from leaders and convince the population.

> *"At first, Pak Mukti registered himself to make a marriage certificate, after that, 13 people registered. After the certificates were issued and [the program] was a proven success in the eyes of villagers, the Village Head responded positively and said 'If [the program] exists, I am proud, it can help me'. He said, 'It is my fault, the fault of older generations who did not make the documents because of the long-standing issue of child marriages'."*
> Ati, Bangkalan research village, 20 February 2019.

Sequencing and trust building were no less important in highly difficult contexts as they were in more conducive contexts as the examples above illustrate in North Hulu Sungai (a more conducive area) and Bangkalan (a highly difficult area). Mapping and sequencing (informal then formal access) was a common strategy used across many of the research sites, including in the more conducive contexts, such as Tanggamus District.

> *"We always use an informal approach before we try to make formal connections [with policy actors] when DAMAR wants to target a region for intervention. We need local people who can map key individuals. For example, John knows this person and that. DAMAR will ask for help from people like John for introductions to key actors. Once the door is open, however, we then enter following formal procedures*." DAMAR leader, 18 July 2019.

> *"Whoever has decision-making power, that's the one we approach. At the subdistrict level, it is usually the Subdistrict Head, or public figures that we involve [for lobbying], or religious leaders. They lobby the District Head, then the district parliament members, especially those who are in our electorate. Each member has their own constituency, so we approach the representative of our constituency, and talk to them about our issues intensively."* Community organiser, Tanggamus, 12 July 2019.

7.7 Social mapping in villages

A crucial first step for CSOs who were able to effectively navigate different contexts, especially highly difficult contexts, was undertaking social mapping. Many CSOs, often with MAMPU support and with village women, undertook extensive mapping exercises in villages before undertaking any kind of new activities, especially those that would challenge social norms. This was deemed essential to ensuring future support for village women was aligned with their needs. It was also essential for customising activities and the approach to suit the varied village social contexts, institutional capacities of government, and the nature of groups and social relations in the village in ways which were sensitive to the gender or social norms in each place (particularly in relation to the sectoral issues with which they were concerned such as domestic violence). Further, understanding the social environment was helpful for designing interventions in ways that could navigate village power dynamics and circumvent any emerging resistance to women's group activities, their participation in governance structures or other public forums, and to broader gender inclusion agendas, like the examples mentioned above.

Through social mapping, often undertaken together with or by village women, CSO partners to varying degrees sought to understand:

- The socio-demographic structure of the village, existing social networks, and existing relations of power so as to identify entry points, potential supporters for new initiatives, potential obstacles and actors who might resist new initiatives,
- Women's priorities and needs in the village and the key problems encountered by women,
- Local culture, social norms and diversity, particularly in relation to gender norms,
- Existing women's groups and forms of organisation and whether these represented the diversity of women in villages,
- Existing gender awareness, attitudes towards gender roles, and knowledge of gender rights and responsibilities,
- Existing knowledge and capacity of leaders to advance women's empowerment.

Not all CSOs or women's groups mapped every aspect of the aforementioned list, and this was not always in a written, structured exercise, but nonetheless, knowledge of these features of the village environment was essential for the strategies and activities that CSOs developed. Especially in highly difficult village and district contexts, this information informed how CSOs customised their strategies to access then support village women in each place, the nature and membership of the groups they formed or sought to strengthen, the activities undertaken, alliances built, and the ways that they sought to engage women, the village government, other leaders and community members, particularly those who were resistant to the women's empowerment agenda.

In the Central Lombok research village, for example, Panca Karsa/Migrant CARE and village women spent some three months collecting data in 2013 so as to carefully design initiatives to provide support to villages. Meanwhile, in replicating Migrant CARE's DESBUMI initiative in its own programs, interviewees explained that less than a week is allocated by the Ministry of Transmigration to conduct similar social mapping processes other places. Village women, together with Panca Karsa also used its social mapping strategy to raise awareness among the people and officials in the village about the plight of migrant workers. The mapping was conducted through a survey of 800 former migrant workers. In the survey, the respondents were asked about their experiences, needs and issues. The survey provided a tool to convince the officials and people in the village about the seriousness of undocumented migration. Panca Karsa then communicated the survey results by holding meetings in village offices, and travelling from one hamlet to the other, as well as door to door to share information and raise people's awareness. The survey helped village women and Panca Karsa to garner support from the Village Head for the program.

> *"I was interested [in the data collected by Panca Karsa] because I care that a lot of these illegal immigrants face issues abroad that sometimes we don't know about. We only know after they encounter problems. But we still don't know who sent the workers abroad [or where they are]. This makes the government look like we are not giving serious attention [to the issue] because we did not know where the migrant workers are."* Former Village Head, 7 July 2019.

7.8 Strategically leveraging village social networks

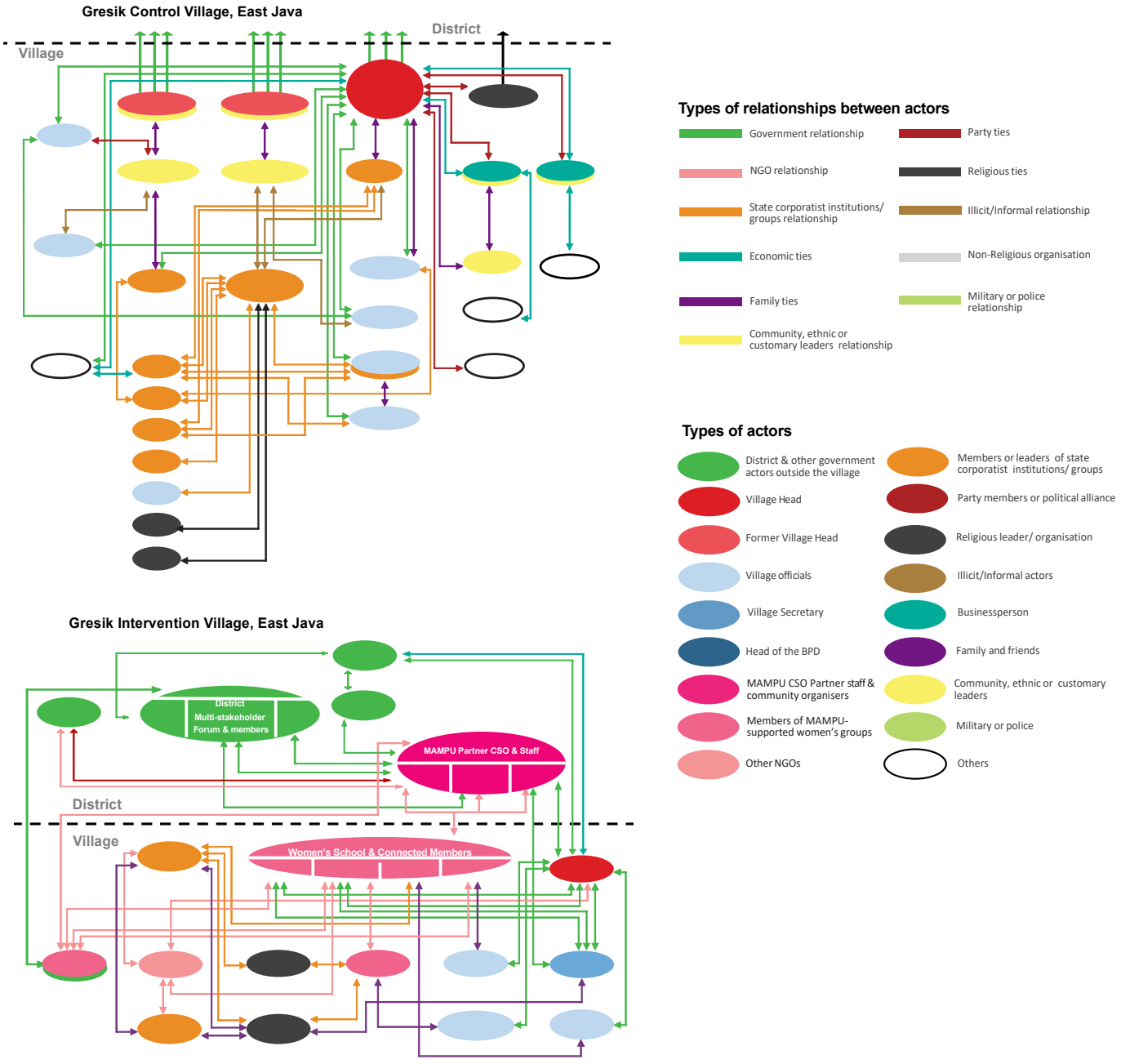
These mapping exercises were also essential for understanding village social networks, gender norms, and other constraints on women's power and influence. Below we provide some illustrations of the social networks in villages. These maps, in a way, represent 'elite' village social networks but also show the connections of women's groups. These maps were developed qualitatively through observations during extended village stays. Researchers identified the prominent influential and authoritative figures in village life (socially, economically, religiously, ethnically, in government and others), including village women or group organisers, who were frequently mentioned across the interviews, and/or shown to be prominent in the case studies of village Stories of Change or women's life histories. The social network maps show kith and kin and associational ties—through, for example, family, friends or social connections, and through religious, customary, ethnic, economic or government ties—between the influential figures identified in the research, including with formal and authoritative government actors. Such government actors were either active in village governance or had significant granted authority (such as Village Heads, BPD leaders, or government officers). We show how women's groups (where they existed) and women's leaders connected to these key figures, which was important for leveraging support for women's collective action described in Section 5.

We can see this if we compare the networks between elites in the Gresik 'control' village (no CSOs) and in the Gresik 'intervention' village (where KPS2K/KAPAL Perempuan supported village women to establish the Women's School group) in Figure 28 below. It is important to note that the size of the circle does not necessarily correspond with the size of the influence of a particular actor/collectivity of actors.

The Gresik 'control' site also had limited diversity of organised associational ties between actors and with government authorities, beyond the few state-corporatist associations such as the Posyandu, the kindergarten, and the fairly inactive PKK. Most networks were concentrated around the Village Head (the red circle) and state corporatist actors and village government (pale blue), and tend to mostly be related to working relationships or family ties. There is very little influence of CSOs (pink). This was the village where there was great resistance from the Village Head and government to new empowerment initiatives and outside influence that was discussed in Section 3, and this is evident in the absence of actors in the map associated with non-state corporatist women's groups (the actors included in the map represent most members of the PKK) or CSOs (pink). If in future new programs of any kind were to enter this village that might have potential influence on the structures of power, they would need to navigate the tight networks associated with the Village Head, and likely gain his support if they were to have any effect.

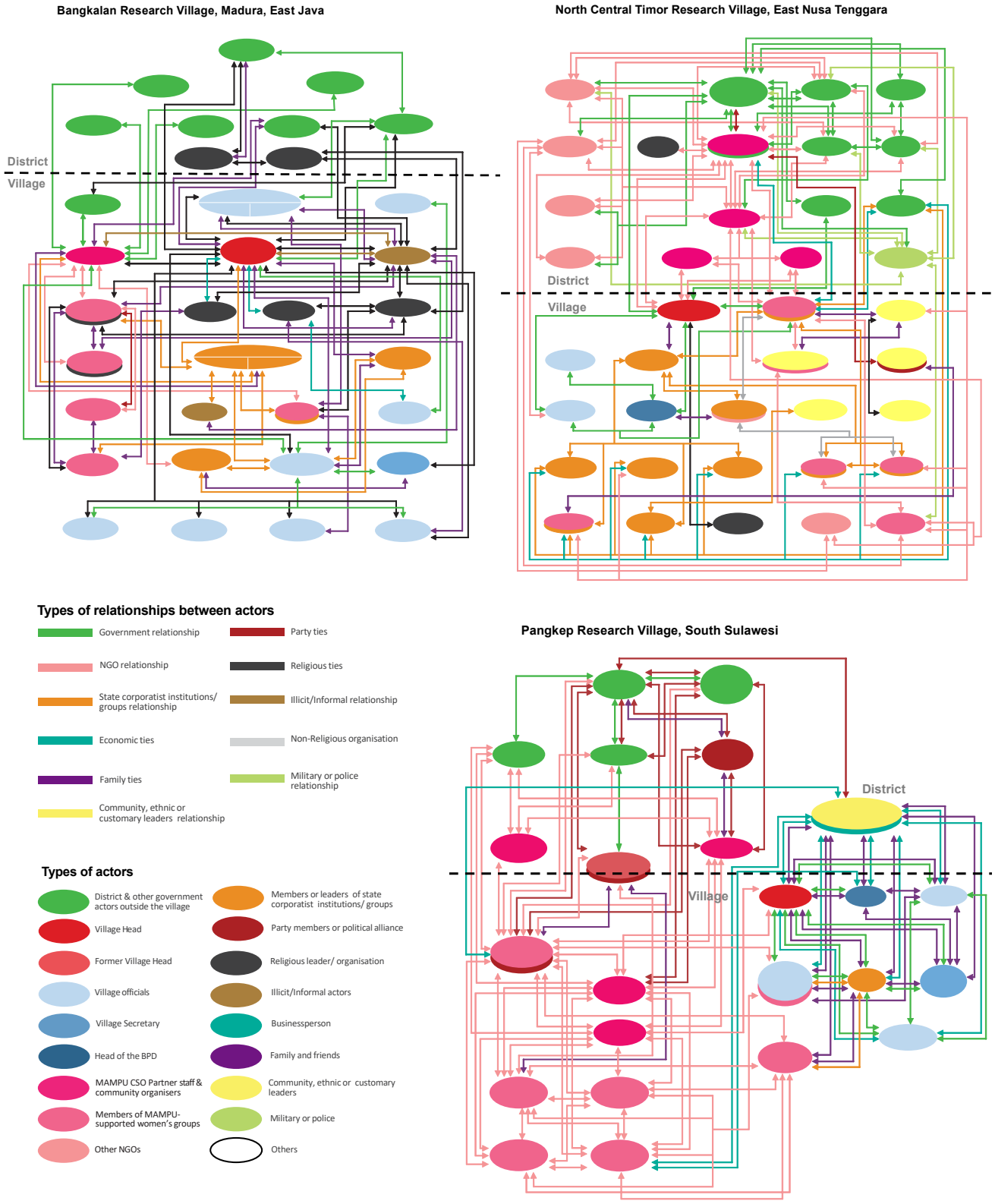
In the intervention site where the Women's School group was established, we can see that there is a greater spread of networks among actors, and these include Women's School members (hot pink). While the Village Head has significant administrative ties to other actors, these are not compounded by significant family or other social ties of the likes that we see in other places (see further discussion below). These maps show how women might have influence in villages through their connections to others to leverage support or to navigate particular actors that block their efforts.

Figure 28: Social Networks in the Control (no CSOs) and Intervention Sites in Gresik, East Java



As is illustrated in Figure 29 below, different villages had different types of social networks and connections between people with authority and influence. In some villages, the types of connections tended to be dominated by politico-government administrative ties and family connections. In others, there was an overlap between ethnic, religious, familial and government administrative ties. Some villages were more homogenous in the types of social ties while others were more plural.

Figure 29: Social Networks in Bangkalan (Madura, East Java), East Central Timor (NTT) and Pangkep (South Sulawesi)



In many instances, influential figures tended to have close ties to other 'elites' and authoritative figures that transcended both social and 'politico-economic' realms (represented by a mixture of colours in the network connections in the maps). Often those who had the greatest concentration of connections also wielded

significant social and political influence. If this coincided with more formal state authority, then these actors had significant political and social power.

In other villages the diversity of actors and types of relationships varied. We can see in Figure 29 above that religious figures and ties feature prominently in Bangkalan in East Java, while custom and tradition actors had a greater role in NTT if compared with Bangkalan. In Bangkalan, the Village Head was central and tied by family and religion to others in the village and networks were concentrated around him, but such networks were more spread out between influential actors in NTT. Meanwhile, economic and family relationships stood out in Pangkep, and again networks were densely concentrated around the Village Head.

When networks (diverse or homogenous) were concentrated among a handful of actors, but these actors were on either side of the political divide in the village, these tended to coincide with factional splits in the village. In contrast, in situations where power was spread among plural actors (as signified by a more even spread of the density and type of social ties), village women and supporting CSOs had more choices in who to lobby for support or to target as champions for women's empowerment. When power was more concentrated at the onset of entry to the village, CSOs had limited options but to try to find ways to target actors within the predominant networks of influence to gain their support to access both the village and activities with women's groups.

Once village women and CSOs had mapped and understood these social networks, they were in a position to be able to leverage these networks by identifying potential entry points and people who had significant power in the village that could influence any resistant actors. For example, a core strategy that had significant success was to identify and gain the trust of actors one or at most two steps away from key decision makers who were likely to be resistant to new initiatives. In Bangkalan, networks were concentrated among one family who had long dominated the village government but also were strongly tied to religious institutions. These kinds of ties are evident in the social network map of Bangkalan (Figure 29). In the face of initial resistance from the Village Head, PEKKA targeted his younger brother (who was a school friend of the PEKKA branch head), and the nephew of the Village Head who in his own right had significant sway and strong networks within the village. They in turn helped to convince the Village Head to slowly open the door to PEKKA's program.

'Aisyiyah's strategy to gain access into the village also involved leveraging existing social networks in the village, by building on networks established by 'Aisyiyah members past. In the past twenty years, young activists of Muhammadiyah (with which 'Aisyiyah is affiliated) have helped provide social services and donations to orphans in the Cirebon research village, which provided them with an early understanding of the social and economic conditions of the village. From these long-standing connections, 'Aisyiyah was able to leverage its connection to social networks to access and gain the trust of the village, even though the village on the whole supports another mass Islamic organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama.

> *"In the beginning, I gave donations for some orphans in the village. At first it was only 9 children, then it grew to 18, then 40 the following year until I couldn't provide more assistance. I have seen from year to year that there are more orphans and I wonder why. It is because their fathers worked as construction labourers in Jakarta. If they do not work overtime, they cannot send money to their family. Because they handle sand and cement every day, they get TB [tuberculosis]… we have three groups in the village. I myself first came to the village twenty years ago. From then, I got to know the village officials ... Both of them are old now, and I consider them as my parents. That's how I got to know other people in the village."* Subdistrict Branch Head, 'Aisyiyah, 4 March 2019.

Understanding social networks and patterns of influence is also important for CSO adaptive strategies to gain access to villages but also to support village women to navigate and ultimately influence village power structures. This is particularly important in the most difficult villages that are resistant to empowerment initiatives and changing gender norms, in which power is often concentrated in the hands of a small few. But the examples above do show that it is not impossible to slowly influence change even when activities might be initially rejected outright by influential leaders, in particular the Village Head.

Further, the social network maps show that CSOs provided in some cases a crucial link between women's groups, village organisations and authoritative actors, and agencies and influential actors at the district level. This was helpful for connecting district actors to village-level empowerment initiatives and women's groups and for village experiences to inform policy. The social network map of the Gresik intervention village in Figure 28 shows these connections between village and district actors, with the MAMPU Partner, KP2SK providing an important node in these connections, particularly in facilitating village women's access to policy makers. Through these connections came greater awareness of the changes underway at both levels. Indeed, the changes that occurred in the Gresik intervention research village became an important inspiration for the district-level forum to support the scale up of support for similar Women's School initiatives elsewhere. We see this in the Story of Change case excerpt below in Box 32.

Box 32: A Story of Change in Gresik—Changing Social Norms and Scaling Up Women's Empowerment Initiatives

The intervention village in the Gresik District is characterised by low income, high unemployment, and strong patriarchal norms through which women are often confined to the domestic sphere. Rates of child marriage are relatively high. Local norms encourage the marriage of girls who are not in school to prevent the likelihood of sex before marriage. One woman recalled:

"*I was married at 13 and had children by 15. I had an arranged marriage. I stayed at the Islamic boarding school [pesantren] for four days, then I was taken and told that I was getting married. It was after I graduated from primary school, I was taken home right away and proposed to. I didn't know what my husband's face even looked like*. *After four days I was just taken… That's what the arranged marriage was like."* Nining, Gresik research 'intervention' village, 24 February 2019.

In 2014, the district regulatory environment in Gresik was relatively conducive to gender-awareness development programs given it had gender mainstreaming regulations, although these were yet to be implemented and had not necessarily translated into on-the-ground practices in villages. In 2014, KAPAL Perempuan and KP2SK, with support from the MAMPU program, gained agreement from the district government through an MoU that enabled them to establish village-level women's groups, called Women's Schools. These Women's Schools seek to address the complex needs of the poorest women in the village.

Through the Women's Schools, women's public speaking skills, gender awareness and confidence to participate in public forums were fostered. While some village women had participated in Musrenbangdes before the Women's Schools lobbied to be explicitly invited, they collectively found that women's social and gender development priorities were generally overlooked:

"From 2016, I attended the Musrenbang. At the beginning I went with friends. We were not invited, but we always asked the Village Head, "when is the village Musrenbang? When is it? When is it" So, because we asked so often, after a while he was overwhelmed. And it turned out, the Women's School also wanted to attend the Musrenbang. In the end we were invited. But it was different. There were ten proposals, but the four suggested [by a Women's School cadre] were rejected." Endang, Gresik research 'intervention' village, February 2019).

Given the village government were unsupportive, the Women's School cadres then shifted their lobbying attention to the district government. They leveraged their growing connections to district officials for support. The district

government—which had committed to supporting the Women's Schools—exerted pressure on the village government which in turn allocated some funding to the group. Such networked collective action saw results in accessing the Village Fund, although advocacy continues in the village for the institutionalisation of the Women's School through a Village Regulation.

At the district level, Women's School members also made recommendations to influential district actors to make greater investments in women's health issues and against child marriage. This resulted in the issuing of a District Regulation (Perda) prohibiting child marriage, and the establishment of a special Musrenbang forum for women.

Despite the entrenchment of patriarchal norms, after five years of village women's collective efforts with the support of CSOs in the research village, women influenced the implementation of the Village Law to the extent that funding has been allocated from the Village Fund to support the Schools and build women's knowledge and skills.

"In 2017 it was because the district head supported us and because we had proven the function of Women's School. We had proven to the district and the district offices [Dinas]. It wasn't just us in the Women's Schools who worked, there were also district committees like the monitoring committee. So, we picked up the work from the district offices and we worked together. That is why in 2017 we began attending village Musrenbang. At the Musrenbang we really pursued village funding. It was in 2017 that such goals began be realised [with a fund allocation]." Indah, Women's School group leader, 22 February 2019.

In addition to women's ability to speak up in and lobby for their interests in the public sphere, the skills they gained through the Women's School also improved their ability to do so at home:

"In the past, if my husband was really angry, I could only cry and hold it in, and he was angry even if I was just crying. Now I can talk, maybe sometimes complain, but I know what I am saying is true. I didn't dare to before but now we can have small discussions." Lasinem, 19 February 2019.

"Then [after attending Women's School sessions] we realised what a woman's needs are and that there are ways to be able to discuss [these needs] with children and families. In the past I could not leave my child at home, but now I can negotiate with my husband to go out." Indah, 19 February 2019.

The Women's Schools have thus provided women with the skills and voice to demand and negotiate more power both in the private and public spheres. The district government has recognised that the Schools are a strong model for gender empowerment, and have replicated them in 10 other villages in Gresik.

7.9 Partnerships with other organisations

Depending on the nature of the context, CSO's partnerships with other government or non-government organisations had different degrees of importance for programs. The nature of these partnerships also had implications for MAMPU Partner initiatives—where these partnerships worked well, they were mutually constitutive. Where this was less the case it had the potential to undermine progress in women's empowerment (see also Section 3).

Partnerships with government

One way to strengthen and scale out the impact of empowerment initiatives is through partnerships with government. Most CSOs established MoUs and multi-stakeholder forums, but some also established more formal partnerships to collaborate on programs and service delivery. On the one hand, this was helpful to undertake activities that required administrative, legal, or other state support (such as legal cases, providing vital documents and responses to cases of violence), but on the other hand, when CSOs helped government

to replicate their initiatives but did not control delivery, they could not always ensure quality implementation and the same kind of impacts they might have achieved themselves.

Nonetheless, partnerships proved important for many CSOs to deliver services and situate women in a position so as to be better able to participate in society and ultimately have more agency and voice. In Bangkalan, for example, the national secretariat of PEKKA signed in 2005 a partnership agreement with the Supreme Court on marriage arrangements. This was followed by a partnership agreement between the Office of the Religious Court and PEKKA at the district level in 2011. The agreement was to prioritise poor women assisted by PEKKA to access free marriage certification services. The head of the Bangkalan Religious Court elaborates:

> *"Without this partnership [between the Religious Court and PEKKA], we face difficulties in using the fund [prodeo quota]. Because people do not know that we have these programs, even though they have urgent needs. They need recognition from the government that they have husbands, wives, children, grandchildren, but no proof. They want the state to recognise them. Maybe they have financial obstacles, maybe they lack information. Maybe they have money, but they have other constraints. Or they have the perception that going to the religious court will cost a lot."* Head of the Religious Court, Bangkalan, 18 February 2019.

Partnerships with CSOs and non-government organisations

In other places, CSOs established partnerships with other organisations. We saw above how BaKTI has maintained multiple networks in Eastern Indonesia and has many partnerships with other organisations undertaking advocacy and empowerment initiatives on a range of issues. Similarly, many of the case studies in this research illustrate partnerships between national and subnational organisations and consortiums so as to share skills, resources, and to have greater collective capacity and reach (see Savirani et al., 2020).

This also occurred among subnational organisations. For example, as part of their strategy, YABIKU in North Timor Tengah approached other CSOs with similar concerns about violence against women. It collaborated with Amanekatob, which allowed the two organisations to divide operational areas/villages between them. YABIKU has conducted empowerment initiatives in the north of the district, while Amanekatob has operated in the south. They worked together, and with village women to lobby for and provide input into the formalisation of the District Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children. YABIKU also expanded its network to the provincial level, partnering with other CSOs, such as Rumah Perempuan (Women's House), Truk F (F Truck) and others. YABIKU has referred the victims of domestic violence it encounters in regions where it does not have a strong presence to these partners. At the time of the research, it also had partnerships and collaborations with government institutions, such as the District Office for the Empowerment and Protection of Women and Children (DP3A), the District Health, Education and Social Affairs Agencies and the Office for Rural People's Empowerment.

In advocating on the issues of domestic violence in TTU, YABIKU also worked with church institutions in the research village, in which most are practicing Catholics, and religious (and customary) norms are strong. YABIKU invited the parish priest to participate in YABIKU's activities to garner support for its agenda in reducing domestic violence in the village, of which rates are high. One breakthrough which resulted from the collaboration is that the Church has embedded teaching materials on domestic violence in its pre-marital courses mandated by Catholic Church for couples intending to marry. Moreover, the church has served as an informal institution dealing with domestic violence. As Catholic beliefs do not allow for divorce, domestic

conflicts are often mediated by *Bapa Mama Serani*, the official Church witnesses at weddings. Thus, the church becomes the initial mechanism for mediation.

> *"Most of them, before they come to the church to talk about their issues, they visit Bapa Mama Serani first. From the Church's perspective, it is our duty to protect the sacrament and to foster marital relationships. So, if there are any cases that arise, the 'parental' figures [who help resolve disputes] are Bapa Mama Serani—the official Church witnesses to the marriage."* Parish priest, 6 July 2019.

7.10 Key features of effective CSO strategies in different contexts

Drawing on the discussion above, below we identify the key aspects of CSOs strategic and adaptive strategies so as to navigate context constraints and harness opportunities at the onset and over time. This constitutes one form of strategic collective action by women's organisations, as distinct from grassroots collective action by village women (often with the support of these CSOs) that were discussed in the previous sections.

Figure 30: Framework Outlining CSO Approaches to Navigating Contexts, Harnessing Opportunities and Overcoming Challenges to Strengthening Gender Inclusion and Women's Empowerment

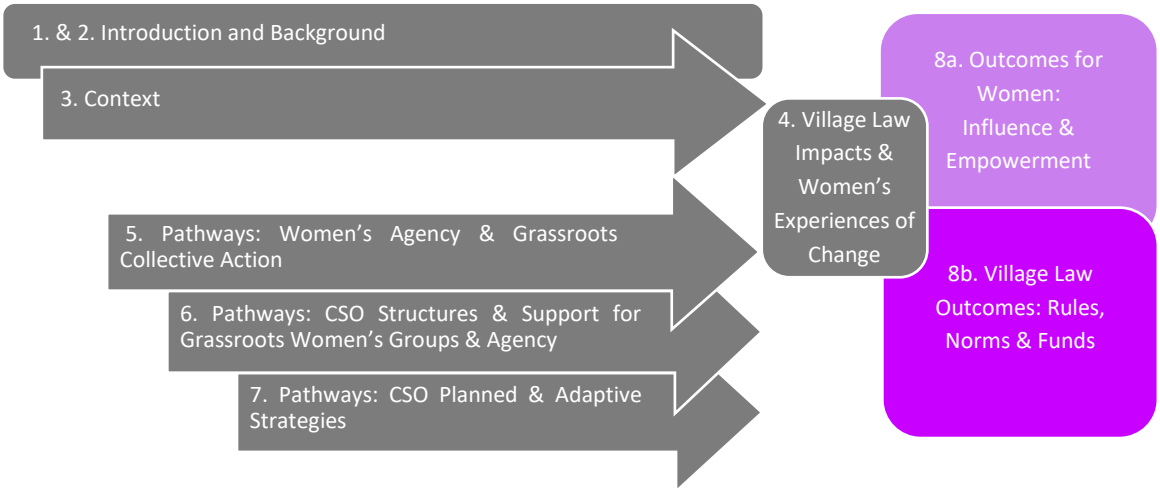
Type of Context:	Important CSO strategies
Moderately conducive contexts	In conducive contexts, the following strategies are important: • Building formal partnerships and informal interpersonal and institutional relationships with authoritative actors (particularly government and key social leaders) through frequent engagement. • Creating or bolstering political will through champions at both village and district levels. • Identifying and helping to fill knowledge and capacity gaps for regulations, policy design, and program delivery and lobby for new policies. • Advocating for budgets and staffing to deliver programs targeting women's priorities (particularly at the district level). • Participating in multi-stakeholder forums and advisory bodies to government (particularly at the district level). • Monitoring progress through data collection and involvement in evaluation. • Planning advocacy efforts on at least a 5-7 year time frame for significant policy change to allow for lobbying (several years), regulation and policy design, enactment (2-3 years), technical regulations and on the ground program start-up. • Building partnerships, establishing MoUs and multi-stakeholder forums with government and CSOs to achieve impact at scale. • Even if regions are conducive, trust building remains important for districts and villages where CSOs have no existing experience.
Moderately difficult contexts	In more challenging contexts, particularly at the village level, the strategies used in conducive contexts are important. In addition, the following approaches are needed, along with heavier investment and longer time frames to access villages, establish initiatives, support villagers, overcome obstacles and have impact: • Using discourse and frame/align initiatives with existing village/district priorities. • Careful sequencing to build trust, particularly at the village level — information sharing, learning, and other services are targeted before focusing on the Village Fund. • Social mapping, identify influential actors, and leverage social networks for access and support in villages. • Involving men and village authorities in activities to create gender awareness and reduce perceived threat. • Leveraging strong district institutional support to overcome challenges in villages.
Highly difficult contexts	In highly difficult contexts, at both district and village levels, the activities used in conducive and moderately difficult contexts are also undertaken with particular emphasis on the following strategies: • Have less ambitious targets for change while undertaking advocacy at the district level, focusing energies on the village level for more discrete change and incremental impacts. • Social mapping, identifying influential actors, and leveraging social networks for access and support in villages and districts — target actors for support near to influential but resistant leaders. • Phased entry — building trust first and demonstrating how village powerholders also benefit from initiatives. • Careful sequencing — information sharing, learning, and other services are targeted before focusing on the Village Fund. • Involving men in activities to create gender awareness and reduce any perceived threat. • Planning longer time frames for impact — change is slow and incremental in these regions but can nonetheless be achieved.

8.

OUTCOMES:

WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION, EMPOWERMENT AND THE VILLAGE LAW

8. Outcomes: Women's Collective Action, Empowerment and the Village Law


1. & 2. Introduction and Background
3. Context
5. Pathways: Women's Agency & Grassroots Collective Action
6. Pathways: CSO Structures & Support for Grassroots Women's Groups & Agency
7. Pathways: CSO Planned & Adaptive Strategies
4. Village Law Impacts & Women's Experiences of Change
8a. Outcomes for Women: Influence & Empowerment
8b. Village Law Outcomes: Rules, Norms & Funds

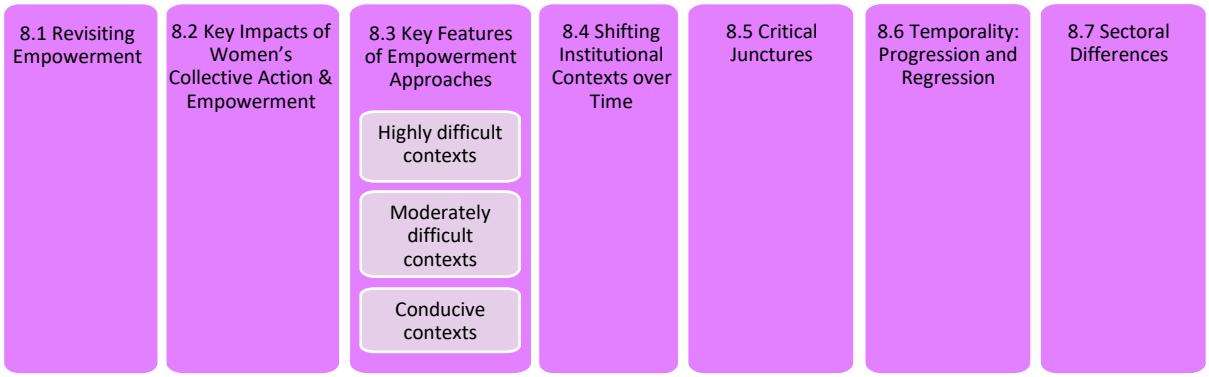
In this section we link together our model to map out how, in different types of contexts, different forms of grassroots collective action by village women, often, at least initially, with varied degrees and types of on-the-ground support from CSOs, and more structured organisational CSO advocacy and collective action, has influenced the implementation of the Village Law. The key forms of women's influence on the implementation of the Village Law analysed include village governance (regulations, programs, fund allocation), social norms and effects on the district institutional environment. We disaggregate our analysis by the degree of conduciveness of district/village contexts: highly difficult, moderately difficult, and moderately conducive.

We use each dimension of the framework developed in the four preceding chapters to identify patterns and plot the causal pathways. In the analysis we show that these pathways have produced changes over time to a point at which there were, to varying degrees:

- Impacts from women's grassroots collective action and CSOs strategies on norms or rules and policies at the village level, and the Village Fund.
- Observable changes in the contexts where MAMPU partners provided support for village women and conducted other activities.
- Wider gender inclusion and empowerment effects for women.

In the following sections we first briefly revisit the initiatives of CSOs and identify their empowerment effects. We then comparatively identify the impacts and changes in all of the research sites on gender inclusion, empowerment and the implementation of the Village Law. We then illustrate the key pathways relevant in different contexts in how such influence on the Village Law took place. Finally, we consider changes over time in the contexts themselves from interventions, the temporal dimensions of interventions, and critical junctures which might regress or advance the influence of such interventions. The content of this section is laid out in Figure 31.

Figure 31: Structure and Key Content of Section 8


8.1 Revisiting Empowerment
8.2 Key Impacts of Women's Collective Action & Empowerment
8.3 Key Features of Empowerment Approaches
Highly difficult contexts
Moderately difficult contexts
Conducive contexts
8.4 Shifting Institutional Contexts over Time
8.5 Critical Junctures
8.6 Temporality: Progression and Regression
8.7 Sectoral Differences

8.1 Revisiting empowerment

MAMPU began its program of support for Partner CSOs in 2013 and CSO support was fully operational by 2014. However, MAMPU's support for CSOs scaled up in the ensuing years, particularly to directly work with village women rather than to primarily undertake advocacy and provide policy and institutional support at district, provincial and national levels, although this continued. Through working at both levels, the impacts from MAMPU CSOs increased over time as by conducting activities with village women, they were able to embed broader advocacy in concrete activities on the ground that had both immediate benefits for women. These women were then not only able to improve their own wellbeing, but also increasingly exercise voice and influence in structures of power and decision making while becoming increasingly involved in the broader networks and advancement of gender inclusion and women's empowerment in districts and beyond. Indeed, throughout the analysis presented in this report and in the case studies of Stories of Change, we have seen many examples of such empowerment effects for rural village women that go beyond accessing services or improving economic wellbeing. Their influence on the implementation of Village Law is one dimension of such effects.

This involved multiple pathways. First, as was described in Sections 4 and 6, we detailed many varied examples of women's experiences in growing their social capital, including knowledge, skills, networks and access to different kinds of resources, but also their confidence, solidarity, mutual support, and individual and collective agency to navigate and overcome challenges and to influence change through different forms of collective action. The CSOs examined in this study helped bolster their individual and collective agency via support provided to women through grassroots groups and in informal spaces. These women undertook a variety of forms of collective action with the support of these groups.

For many women in rural areas it is unsurprising that forms of collective action tended to be more informal, particularly in difficult contexts, as such forms of action were less confrontational for other community members and the leadership, which was important given women were deeply integrated in village life and depended on their social connections for many aspects of their wellbeing. The forms of collective action took a variety of both formal and informal forms including, negotiation, building ties with leaders, leveraging these ties, navigating restrictive social networks and building new networks, collaborating with champions, participating in influential decision-making forums and so on. In some places, CSOs, with MAMPU support, were starting from scratch in building initiatives to bolster grassroots women's influence, wider gender inclusion and women's empowerment, while in others MAMPU support helped CSOs strengthen their internal structures, knowledge, staff capacity and materials and scale up and scale out their gender-focused

programs and activities to more people and regions. In all places, we found empowering effects from CSO interventions to support village women, in the sense that there were not only increased skills, capacities, networks and knowledge among women, but also increased numbers of female leaders, and increased participation in decision-making forums at village and district levels. This ultimately had implications for women's influence on the implementation of the Village Law and more widely in villages.

In summary, MAMPU CSO Partners and women's groups have, to varying degrees, influenced gender inclusion and women's empowerment more broadly and the implementation of the Village Law through:

- Working through different types of village groups and providing different types of resources and support to these groups to exercise voice and improve women's well-being (Section 6).
- Improving skills, capacity, networks and confidence of women to exercise voice (Section 6).
- Supporting women to undertake different forms of grassroots formal and informal collective action (Section 5).
- Strategically navigating contexts, undertaking advocacy and direct action at the district and village levels (Section 7).
- Slowly and incrementally influencing changes on the ground and in policy frameworks that advance women's power, as well as contribute to poverty reduction and wellbeing.

CSO efforts to harness opportunities, overcome barriers and influence authoritative actors required different strategies and investments in highly difficult contexts, particularly those where CSOs had not worked before. This is in contrast to the efforts needed in moderately conducive contexts that already displayed some openness to the women's empowerment agenda, or highly conducive contexts where CSOs already had established empowerment programs and relationships with both villagers and influential policy and social actors and had begun to shift the institutional environment to be more inclusive of women.

Ultimately CSO program empowerment impacts for women—with implications for women's influence on the implementation of the Village Law (Sections 4 and here in Section 8)—related to the ways CSOs were able to build trust with and support village women through activities with women's groups (Section 6), and how well CSOs were able to adapt to and strategically navigate variable context constraints and opportunities while also supporting village women in such navigation, both at the onset and over time (Section 7). More direct approaches were able to be used for engaging women and the leadership in more conducive contexts, and more indirect approaches, through careful sequencing, were more appropriate in more difficult contexts. Early partnerships with government for programs and activities was helpful for shared use of resources, but often only feasible in more conducive contexts where there resistance from government actors to gender inclusion and empowerment initiatives was less likely. Successful influence of CSOs in challenging contexts was often associated with:

- Carefully developed approaches to engage with leaders (particularly government leaders) and build support for gender inclusion and women's empowerment at district and village levels.
- Policy advocacy and strengthening the institutional and regulatory environment to support gender inclusion and women's empowerment, always demonstrating the benefits for districts, villages and communities.
- Using discourse and sequencing of advocacy efforts so as to shape or align with and accommodate village needs and priorities (often not targeting the Village Fund at the onset).
- Supplementary support to fill capacity/knowledge gaps of government in policy design or service delivery.

- Social and political mapping so as to identify needs and strategically leverage village social networks to bolster support for their initiatives.
- Building trust with both villagers and the district and village leadership.
- Planning the degree to which CSO staff or community organisers were embedded in village contexts to support women vis-à-vis the requirements of the context itself.
- Embedding advocacy work in concrete, on-the-ground initiatives to establish or support women's groups in rural villages in ways that women could experience the direct benefits of their changing agency and influence, and ultimately expand the capacity and number of women able to undertake collective action to influence change and bring about positive benefits for women's wellbeing.

8.2 Key impacts of women's collective action and empowerment initiatives

As we can see in Figure 32 below, the results of women's collective action, bolstered by CSO empowerment approaches, produced significant change in village environments and the implementation of the Village Law. Collective action has produced either changes to Village Regulations to prioritise issues of key concern to women, or have funds allocated from the Village Fund (at scales of varying degrees) to these priority issues. Many have achieved both, even though empowerment initiatives did not necessarily start out to directly influence Village Law implementation. Impacts were evident across all the 'intervention' villages where this research was undertaken and across all five sectoral issues: social protection, women's health and nutrition, support for migrant workers, improved work conditions for homeworkers, and efforts to reduce violence against women. Two ticks in the table indicate that this was a particularly strong type of impact on the implementation of the Village Law for the village in question.

We also see that in all regions and across all sectoral focus issues, women's participation has increased and in some there have been improvements in the number of women occupying influential leadership positions. Even in the homeworkers sector, which doesn't always have a specific village level focus, there have been improvements.

As we saw in Section 4 too, and in the case study excerpts throughout this report, women's influence on the implementation of the Village Law has also produced significant diversity in the kinds of village development initiatives implemented that include but have gone beyond infrastructure and economic development. Initiatives cover village economic *and* social policies and projects, support for training, skills development and information dissemination, service delivery and a range of other initiatives.

Figure 32: Women's Collective Action and Impacts on the Implementation of the Village Law

Context Conditions	CSO	Sectoral focus	Changes over time village contexts and Village Law implementation					District institutional change over time	
			Women's participation in forums	More women in leadership positions	Social norms	Rules & policies	Village fund $	District policies & regulations	District/ Provincial funds
Moderately Conducive Contexts	**TANGGAMUS (Lampung)**—DAMAR & FAKTA, PERMAMPU Consortium	Women's Health & Nutrition Reducing Violence Against Women	✓✓	Already	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓
	BANTUL (Yogyakarta)—Yasanti	Employment Conditions	✓✓		N/A*	✓	✓	✓	
	NORTH HULU SUNGAI (HSU) in South Kalimantan—PEKKA	Social Protection	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓	✓ (short-term)	✓✓	✓
Moderately Difficult Contexts	**GRESIK (East Java)**—KAPAL Perempuan—KP2SK	Social Protection	✓✓		✓		✓✓	✓	✓✓
	CIREBON (West Java)—'Aisyiyah	Women's Health & Nutrition	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	
	CENTRAL LOMBOK (West Nusa Tenggara—NTB)—Migrant Care & Panca Karsa	Migrant Workers	✓		✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓
	EAST LOMBOK (NTB)—BaKTI	Reducing Violence Against Women	✓		✓	✓✓	✓	✓	
	DELI SERDANG (North Sumatra)—BITRA	Employment Conditions	✓✓	✓	N/A*	(Draft)		✓✓	✓
	PANGKAJENE ISLANDS (Pangkep) — (South Sulawesi) CONTROL VILLAGE—NO CSO Presence	N/A	✓ (very limited)	✓				N/A	N/A
Highly Difficult Contexts	**PANGKAJENE ISLANDS (Pangkep) — (South Sulawesi)**—KAPAL Perempuan & YKPM	Social Protection	✓✓	✓	✓		✓ (Short-term)	✓✓	✓
	NORTH CENTRAL TIMOR - TTU (NTT)—FPL & YABIKU	Reducing Violence Against Women	✓✓		✓	✓ (Draft)	✓	✓	✓✓
	LABUHAN BATU (North Sumatra)—FPL & SPI	Reducing Violence Against Women	✓✓		✓ (Slowly)	✓✓	✓ (Not released)	✓	
	BANGKALAN (East Java)—PEKKA	Social Protection	✓ (partly)		✓	✓✓	✓ (Small amount)		
	GRESIK (East Java) CONTROL VILLAGE—NO CSO Presence	N/A	✓ (very limited)				✓	**N/A**	**N/A**

N/A*. In this research site we investigated women's collective action and CSO gender inclusion and empowerment approaches but did not undertake deep village analysis of social norms.

Figure 32 also illustrates that in every research site where CSOs supported village women, with the exception of Bangkalan and Labuhan Batu, collective efforts produced district-level institutional change and, in many cases, fund allocations for programs. Annex 5 also provides a summary of all new regulations. Indeed, we can see how village-level initiatives connected to district policies to improve gender mainstreaming through, for example, replicating Women's Schools and providing funding for this in Gresik District (see the Story of Change case excerpt in Box 32).

8.3 Key features of empowerment approaches: Influencing norms, rules and the allocation of the Village Fund

In the discussion below we identify the key features of the interventions and support provided by CSOs which contributed to the pathways of increased agency, collective action and influence on the Village Law. We differentiate the analysis by the three types of district/village contexts: highly difficult, moderately difficult, and moderately conducive contexts.

It is important to note that strategies around the particular types of groups to support is not delineated by each type of context, as this is contingent on the nature of each village site, the nature of women's groups and the degree to which they included vulnerable women in each type of place, as well as the degree of diversity of these groups. MAMPU CSO Partners tended to assess each place according to such diversity. It is easier in highly difficult contexts to collaborate, at least initially, with established women's groups or networks so as not to disrupt the status quo, before then extending membership and focus to a wider range of issues and/or supporting women to establish a new group. In more conducive contexts, in those situations where there were limited women's groups and/or these limited membership diversity and access for more vulnerable women, it was easier than in more difficult contexts to support village women to establish new groups at the onset.

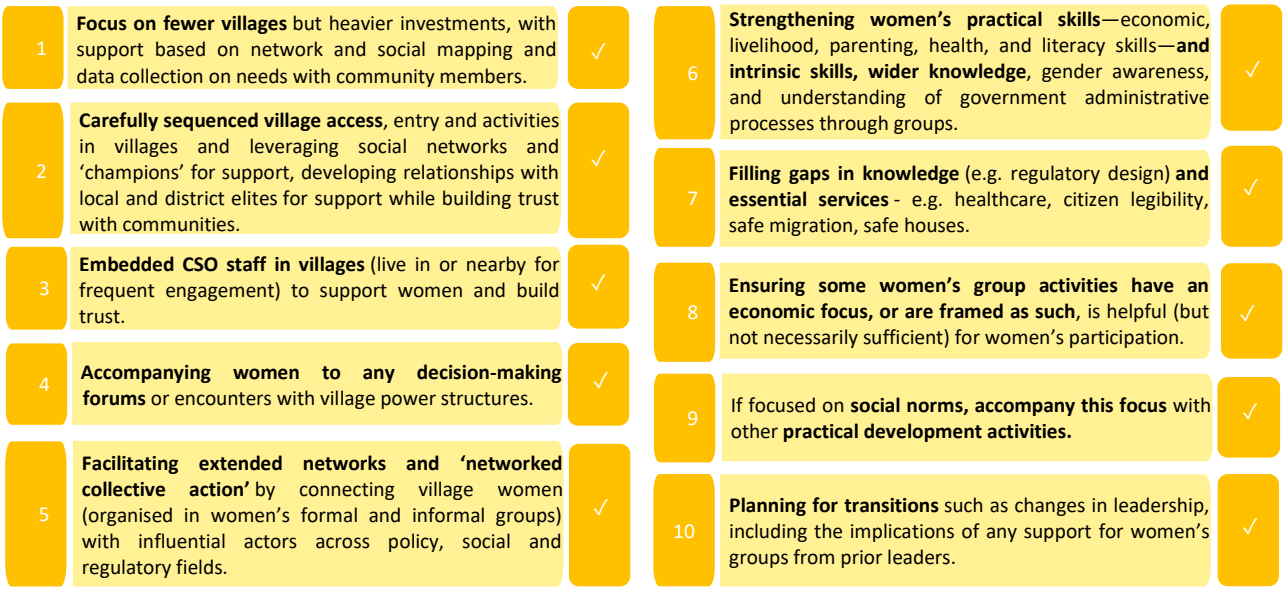
Highly difficult contexts

In highly difficult contexts where both the village level and the district level contained many barriers, CSOs often carefully sequenced their activities and support to village women. With careful sequencing to gain village access, in many examples CSOs began village activities by focusing on trust building, mapping networks, and gender awareness building with men. This approach usually involved live-in (or nearby) CSO-funded community organisers who were embedded in the village and could build relationships with both women's groups (and village cadres where such a structure was used) and with elites. Sectoral activities were also often oriented initially to incorporate the expressed needs of village members. Work on providing services preceded attempts to build pressure for incremental changes in rules and policies or advocating for more allocation of village-level funding for women's groups, and in changing norms. Framing activities so as to be aligned with village priorities and benefits for the whole community helped garner support from the village leadership for programs.

Efforts to change norms that were restrictive or dangerous for women were usually accompanied by other more development oriented and service provision activities for the benefit of women and the wider community. In highly difficult contexts too, CSOs tended to intensify efforts in fewer villages while working slowly at the district level. It was especially important to provide support for more vulnerable women in these contexts to access essential services and welfare. A focus on citizen legibility (through access to documentation) at the onset was also important (for increasing access to government services), as was a focus on activities that had economic benefits for women. Further, learning from the case studies in which progress might advance or regress at critical junctures (discussed further in the next sub-section), planning for changes in leadership and the political implications of any support for women's groups from prior leaders would be important in all contexts.

In summary, drawing on all the cases and learning from the experience of the village women and CSOs involved in this study, strategic and adaptive approaches for influencing gender inclusion and women's empowerment in highly difficult contexts would involve many of the following aspects outlined in Figure 33.

Figure 33: Key Activities and Strategies for Improving Gender Inclusion and Women's Empowerment in Highly Difficult Contexts


1
Focus on fewer villages but heavier investments, with support based on network and social mapping and data collection on needs with community members.
2
Carefully sequenced village access, entry and activities in villages and leveraging social networks and 'champions' for support, developing relationships with local and district elites for support while building trust with communities.
3
Embedded CSO staff in villages (live in or nearby for frequent engagement) to support women and build trust.
4
Accompanying women to any decision-making forums or encounters with village power structures.
5
Facilitating extended networks and 'networked collective action' by connecting village women (organised in women's formal and informal groups) with influential actors across policy, social and regulatory fields.
6
Strengthening women's practical skills—economic, livelihood, parenting, health, and literacy skills—and intrinsic skills, wider knowledge, gender awareness, and understanding of government administrative processes through groups.
7
Filling gaps in knowledge (e.g. regulatory design) and essential services - e.g. healthcare, citizen legibility, safe migration, safe houses.
8
Ensuring some women's group activities have an economic focus, or are framed as such, is helpful (but not necessarily sufficient) for women's participation.
9
If focused on social norms, accompany this focus with other practical development activities.
10
Planning for transitions such as changes in leadership, including the implications of any support for women's groups from prior leaders.

This wider approach was important for the Village Law-specific strategies to be effective. Drawing from the study, the figure below outlines the kinds of activities and strategies that are relevant to each type of targeted Village Law impact.

Figure 34: Key Activities and Strategies in Highly Difficult Contexts for Supporting Women's Influence on the Implementation of the Village Law

Norms and participation	Regulations and technical instruments	Village Fund
• Conduct gender awareness building activities with men and village leaders. • Strengthen gender awareness among women through group activities. • Facilitate or strengthen multi-stakeholder district forums. • Provide more intensive support from CSO staff to villages and village women. • Lobby leaders for inclusion of women in meetings—accompany them for an extended period. • Expect slow change—depending on sectoral focus, and particularly if not aligned with existing priorities. This is especially the case for changes to restrictive gender norms. • Plan activities so as to accommodate women's daily schedules. • Target awareness, knowledge and then later target rules, while slowly seeking changes in norms alongside practical activities. • Enlist pressure from district on villages if support exists at the district level exists and villages are resistant to gender inclusion. • Work with social leaders and encourage their participation in activities. • Support village women to develop strategies to circumvent context constraints. • Mobilise champions at scale.	• Develop partnerships with village/district influential actors. • Establish or strengthen multi-stakeholder forums at both levels after demonstrating benefits of activities. • Target potential champions for support. • Start with services, demonstrate impacts, then focus on rules, and only later seek access to the Village Fund. • Fill gaps in knowledge and provide technical input develop regulations. • Involve village women and other stakeholders in the design of regulations. • Demonstrate links to district/village priorities. • Include stipulations in rules that ensure women's participation in decision-making meetings. • Include stipulations in rules that recognise women's groups (particularly new groups) and multi-stakeholder forums focused on women's priorities.	• Demonstrate political benefits of engagement. • Don't expect fund allocations in short time frames or at scale. • Initially provide some services that have impacts for men and women and influential leaders. • Initially fund village-level empowerment and service activities—slowly seek co-funding. • Organise study tours to other villages for influential figures. • Plan for critical junctures when gender inclusion might regress, and support cadres and villages to overcome these.

Moderately difficult contexts

In moderately difficult contexts, patterns were similar in the initial approaches used by CSOs for access in highly difficult contexts—most often in both types of districts the village environments were similarly difficult to navigate with one or two exceptions. However, in moderately difficult environments, often at the district

level there were additional opportunities for women's empowerment and collective action due to the more conducive policy environment or existing champions, if compared with more difficult districts. When this was the case, CSOs were often able to progress more quickly with their lobbying for changes in policies and rules. In summary, drawing on all learning from this study, strategic and adaptive approaches for influencing gender inclusion and women's empowerment in moderately difficult contexts would involve many of the aspects outlined in Figure 35.

Figure 35: Key Activities and Strategies for Improving Gender Inclusion and Women's Empowerment in Moderately Difficult Contexts

1	**Focus on fewer or slightly more villages** (depending on village contexts across the districts), support based on network and social mapping and data collection on needs of community members.	✓
2	**Carefully sequenced village access**, entry and activities in villages and leveraging existing social networks and 'champions' for support, **developing relationships** with local and district elites for support while building trust with communities.	✓
3	**Regular visits** by community organiser staff to support women and strengthen trust.	✓
4	**Accompanying women to any decision-making forums** or encounters with village power structures.	✓
5	**Facilitating extended networks and 'networked collective action'** by connecting village women (organised in women's formal and informal groups) with influential actors across policy, social and regulatory fields.	✓
6	**Strengthening women's practical skills**—economic, livelihood, parenting, health, and literacy skills—**and intrinsic skills, wider knowledge**, gender awareness, and understanding of government administrative processes through groups.	✓
7	**Filling gaps in knowledge** (e.g. regulatory design) **and essential services** - e.g. healthcare, citizen legibility, safe migration, safe houses.	✓
8	**Ensuring some women's group activities have a practical or economic focus, or are framed as such**, is helpful (but not necessarily sufficient) for women's participation.	✓
9	If focused on **social norms, accompany this focus** with other **practical development activities**.	✓
10	**Planning for transitions** such as changes in leadership, including the implications of any support for women's groups from prior leaders.	✓

This wider approach was important for the Village Law-specific strategies to be effective. Drawing from this study, the figure below outlines the kinds of activities and strategies that are relevant to each type of targeted Village Law impact in moderately difficult contexts.

Figure 36: Key Activities and Strategies in Moderately Difficult Contexts for Supporting Women's Influence on the Implementation of the Village Law

Norms and participation	Regulations and technical instruments	Village Fund
• Conduct gender awareness building activities with men and village leaders. • Strengthen gender awareness among women in group activities. • Facilitate or strengthen multi-stakeholder district forums. • Provide more intensive support from CSO staff to villages and village women. • Lobby leaders for inclusion of women in meetings—accompany them initially. • Expect slow change—depending on sectoral focus, and particularly if not aligned with existing priorities. This is especially the case for changes to restrictive gender norms. • Plan activities so as to accommodate women's daily schedules. • Target awareness, knowledge and then later rules, while slowly seeking changes in norms. • Enlist pressure from district on villages if support exists at the district level and villages are resistant to gender inclusion. • Mobilise champions at scale for support. • Share strategies and materials with villagers (village). • Work with social leaders and encourage their participation in activities.	• Establish or strengthen multi-stakeholder forums at both levels. • Develop partnerships with village/district influential actors. • Target potential champions for support. • Develop partnerships with village/district influential actors. • Start with development activities, then target regulations, then seek Village Fund access at village level. • Involve village women and other stakeholders in the design of regulations. • Include rules that ensure women's participation in future decision-making meetings. • Fill gaps in knowledge and provide technical input to develop regulations. • Include stipulations in rules that recognise women's groups (particularly new groups) and multi-stakeholder forums focused on women's priorities.	• Demonstrate political benefits of engagement. • Don't expect fund allocations in short time frames or at scale. • Initially provide some services that have impacts for men and women and influential leaders. • Initially fund village-level empowerment and service activities, then seek co-funding in smaller amounts before scaling up fund requests. • Undertake cross-village visits involving village women to show the impacts of change and share knowledge. • Plan for critical junctures when gender inclusion might regress, and support cadres and villages to overcome these.

Box 33 below illustrates another story of how change happens in moderately difficult contexts on the ground. The challenges in the research village for migrant workers were immense and the village leadership was initially resistant. However, this case study shows how advocacy efforts for the protection of migrant workers were driven by grassroots women's groups, namely the DESBUMI cadres and members of the La Tansa Migrant Workers Observer Group, made up of former migrant worker women. These women's groups were supported by the Panca Karsa Association, and saw new regulations enacted at the village and district levels related to safe migration practices as well as funding at both levels and integrated service units at both levels.

Box 33: A Story of Change in Central Lombok—Women Driving Change in Protection for Migrant Workers.

Due to limited livelihood opportunities many residents in Central Lombok District seek work elsewhere, particularly as overseas migrant workers. In the research village, women—particularly widows and divorcees—are prime targets of recruiters who offer to facilitate their overseas employment.

"The recruiters are told who wants to leave. If there are widows [and] there are many widows here, they [the recruiters] will definitely come here." Rani, a former migrant worker, Central Lombok, 6 July 2019.

The high prevalence of migrant work among women in Central Lombok is related to high rates of unilateral divorce. When women are divorced by their husbands, it is often very difficult for them to support themselves and their families financially. This is intensified by loans they use to pay the large recruiter fees to enable them to work overseas:

"So actually, their problems started when they migrated abroad because they borrowed money. And, [often people] borrow money not from an official financial institution but from moneylenders." Panca Karsa program manager, Central Lombok, 5 July 2019.

In 2012, the Mataram Panca Karsa Association (PPK) partnered with Migrant CARE through the MAMPU Program to begin awareness raising campaigns and run programs to address issues experiences by migrant workers. PPK's village cadres supported villagers to form the DESBUMI (Villages that Care for Migrant Workers) group to advocate for migrant worker rights. In 2013 and 2014 PPK and four village female cadres conducted a survey of issues affecting migrant workers.

The survey showed that the main reason women reported for becoming a migrant worker was the limited livelihood opportunities in the village. This survey also demonstrated widespread problems including a lack of documentation before their departure, experiences of violence whilst overseas, and the heavy burden of debts accumulated on return. One woman, Saripah, described how she organised her departure by paying a broker who promised immediate departure:

"[I organised my departure] through brokers but they don't follow through with the agreement. We gave the agreed amount, 2 million for departure in less than a month. But it took the company 3 months and the broker just took us to the office in Jakarta and just left us there and didn't want to know about us anymore." Saripah, member of La Tansa, 9 July 2019.

PPK together with DESBUMI cadres then formed the La Tansa Migrant Workers Observer Group. La Tansa has provided information about safe migration to other villagers and as a result many prospective migrant workers have since sought to get their permissions and documentation for overseas work through official channels rather than using recruiters. La Tansa has also collected reports of problems related to migrant work by listening to the experiences of women in informal chats and via social media.

"For those who leave, come home, or have problems, we get told. Our members give information to their neighbours, for instance, if someone wants to go to Saudi Arabia, they will tell them here is safer and that all requirements need to be complete, so don't fake them." Nisa, Head of La Tansa, 8 July 2019.

La Tansa has also provided opportunities for former female migrant workers to increase their livelihood skills, for instance by making and selling cakes and craft. Members also received assistance in purchasing appliances and tools for their businesses. The former Village Head reported that up to sixty percent of women said that as a result they are no longer interested in becoming migrant workers again:

"It's more than 60 percent, it's rather rare now [for village women and men to become migrant workers] because there are activities." H. Haris, Former Village Head, 7 July 2019.

In 2015 Panca Karsa supported the drafting of a Village Regulation, which provides for the allocation of Village Fund resources for DESBUMI programs. Following this regulation and DESBUMI's successful resolution of individual cases, the group increasingly gained legitimacy in the community, which led to its cadres being invited to participate in village policy development and MusDes, which previously was an almost exclusively male space. At the district level female DESBUMI cadres and La Tansa members, together with other CSO groups, contributed to discussions that led to the Central Lombok District Regulation No. 1/2017 on the protection of migrant workers.

The work of DESBUMI and La Tansa has generated data on migrant workers, which has given them leverage to lobby the village government for programs and policies that support women's rights. Through regular meetings, the groups have enhanced women's public speaking skills and knowledge of rights, enabling them to influence policy both at the village and district level.

Conducive contexts

In contrast to approaches in more difficult contexts, in moderately conducive contexts such as Tanggamus where CSOs had established networks with whom villagers and leaders were familiar, they could support women for influence of rules and norms through a less embedded approach. Villagers and district leaders were also likely to be less averse (although not uniformly) to tackling sensitive issues of concern to women. There was also the opportunity to work at scale in more villages, with CSO staff visiting rather than living in.

In places such as North Hulu Sungai District, strong, frequent support for village women was still needed, because despite both the district and village being open to change, PEKKA did not have established networks and relationships in the village. CSOs drew on the activity of strong existing village groups and local champions and emphasised coordination and scaling of these efforts to the district level. In conducive contexts, sequencing tended to be less important than in challenging contexts, and a focus on rules and institutions could be introduced earlier as the leadership was likely to be supportive. Supporting women's groups in their activities to lobby the village leadership was still important as was network development, for example, through help with letter writing, facilitating meetings and accompanying women to decision-making forums. In summary, drawing from all learning from village women and participants in this study, strategic and adaptive approaches for influencing gender inclusion and women's empowerment in moderately difficult contexts would involve many of the aspects outlined in see Figure 37.

Figure 37: Key Activities and Strategies for Improving Gender Inclusion and Women's Empowerment in Moderately Conducive Contexts.

1	**Scale out to support more villages** with lighter investments, social mapping and data collection on needs with community members.	✓
2	**Leverage 'champions'** and other networks for support, scale out district-wide collaborations of MoUs for joint programs and often work closely with government.	✓
3	**Regular visits** by community organiser staff **to support women and strengthen trust** (less necessary to live in).	✓
4	**Initially accompanying women** to decision-making forums and encounters with village power structures, and then undertake **subsequent 'spot checks'.** Focus too on connecting women with district actors and	✓
5	**Facilitating extended networks and 'networked collective action'** by connecting village women (organised in women's formal and informal groups) with influential actors across policy, social and regulatory fields.	✓
6	**Strengthening women's practical skills**—economic, livelihood, parenting, health, and literacy skills—**and intrinsic skills, wider knowledge**, gender awareness, and understanding of government administrative processes through groups.	✓
7	**Filling gaps in knowledge** (e.g. regulatory design) **and essential services for vulnerable women** - e.g. healthcare, citizen legibility, safe migration, safe houses.	✓
8	**Ensuring some women's group activities have an economic focus, or are framed as such**, is helpful (but not necessarily sufficient) for women's participation.	✓
9	If focused on **social norms, accompany this focus** with other practical development activities.	✓
10	**Planning for transitions** such as changes in leadership, including the implications of any support for women's groups from prior leaders.	✓

This wider approach was important for the Village Law-specific strategies to be effective. Drawing from this study, the figure below outlines many of the kinds of activities and strategies that are relevant to each type of targeted Village Law impact in moderately conducive contexts.

Figure 38: Key Activities and Strategies in Moderately Conducive Contexts for Supporting Women's Influence on the Implementation of the Village Law

Norms and participation	Regulations and technical instruments	Village fund
• Conduct gender awareness building activities with men and village leaders. • Strengthen gender awareness among women in group activities. • Scale out support to more villages with lighter investments and working at scale, with periodic deeper investments in those villages that require additional support. • Lobby leaders for inclusion of women in meetings—accompany them initially. • Expect faster change in gender participation depending on sectoral focus. • Plan activities so as to accommodate women's daily schedules. • Target awareness, knowledge and rules, while slowly seeking changes in norms. • Expect faster change in norms than other regions but nonetheless slower change compared with other impacts. • Enlist pressure from district on villages if support exists at the district level and villages are resistant to gender inclusion. • Share strategies and materials with villagers. • Work with social leaders and encourage their participation in activities.	• Establish or strengthen multi-stakeholder forums at both district/village levels. • Strengthen rules and policies (village and district)—especially targeting district wide change. • Fill gaps in knowledge and provide technical input to develop regulations. • Develop partnerships with village/district influential actors. • Target potential champions for support. • Start with activities and rules then with funds. • Involve village women and other stakeholders in the design of regulations. • Include rules that ensure women's participation in future decision-making forums. • Include stipulations in rules that recognise women's groups (particularly new groups) and multi-stakeholder forums focused on women's priorities. • Establish joint programs with government.	• Initially fund village-level empowerment and service activities, then seek co-funding (and scale out in scope and scale up to other villages). • Can possibly focus on Village Fund access earlier than in other contexts, particularly for economic activities such as BUMDes. • Undertake cross-village visits involving village women to show the impacts of change and share knowledge. • Draw on bottom up constituency pressure. • Target women's representation at MusDes. • Plan for critical junctures and support cadres and villages to overcome these.

8.4 Shifting institutional contexts over time

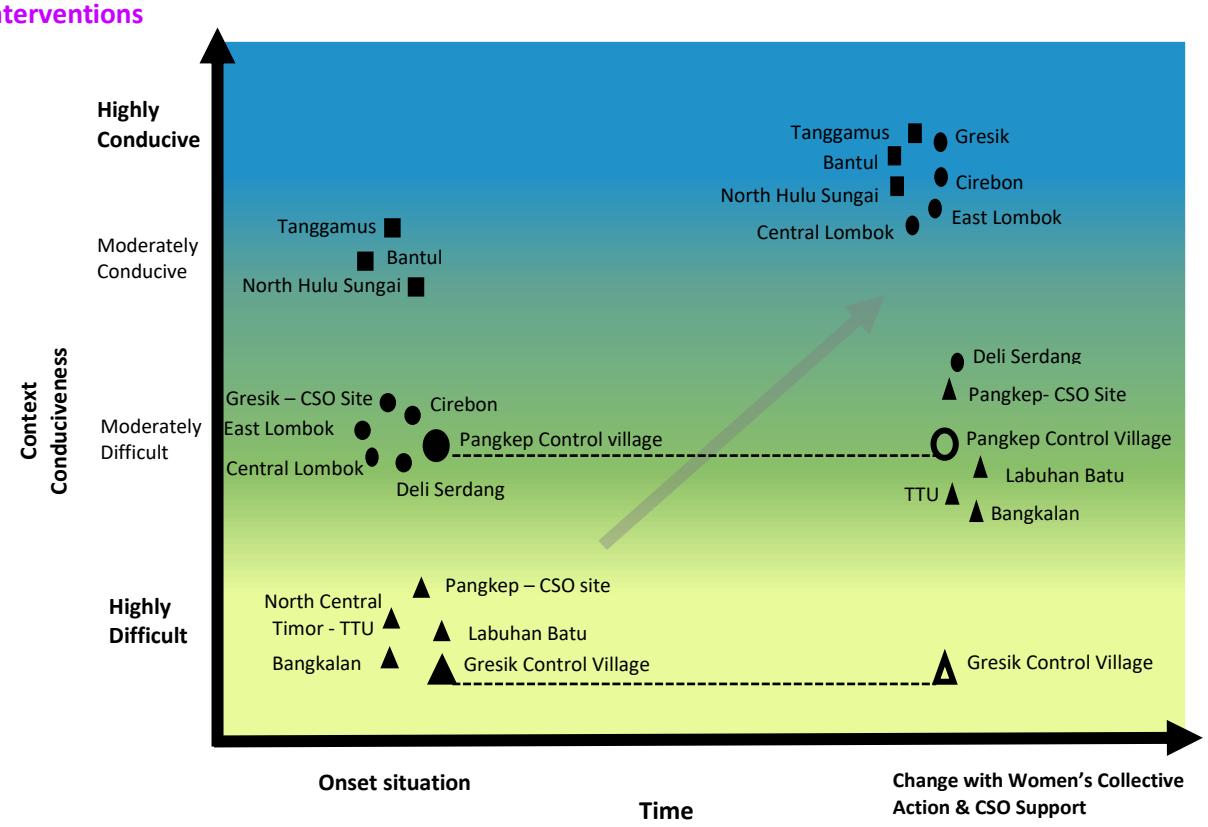
Women's grassroots collective action and the strategic and adaptive approaches of MAMPU CSO Partners also produced significant changes in the contexts themselves (Figure 39). While contexts may also evolve due to endogenous factors, we can see from Figure 39 below that significant changes did not occur in either of the control sites, where there were no such interventions and very few strong women's groups that had wide

and diverse participation. This was particularly the case in the Gresik research 'control' village in which there were only state-corporatist women's groups (the PKK and Posyandu) with few members and Fatayat prayer groups, less than a handful of women who led these groups and had some influence, strong resistance from the Village Head and other leaders to empowerment programs, and no CSO presence. The village was also relatively isolated from the influence of state policy makers.

The Pangkep control research village had slightly more opportunities given it had had a prior female Village Head who had recognised the importance of women's education and leadership. Nonetheless, since the implementation of the Village Law (after her tenure) this village had not introduced any new regulations prioritising women's needs or any Village Fund allocation for women's priorities, and did not find ways to ensure women's influence in decision making. It is evident then, that a history female leadership in and of itself does not guarantee a strong women's empowerment agenda will be pursued, although it may help as it has in a number of districts. Again, the only women's groups present were state-corporatist women's groups (the PKK and Posyandu, with some sub-groups) each of which was made up of the same few elite members. There was a slightly more varied membership in the state-corporatist Women Farmers Group (Kelompok Wanita Tani, KWT).

In contrast, in the intervention areas, in most cases the improvements in the degree of conduciveness of these environments to gender inclusion and women's empowerment over time was significant. The four areas that were moderately difficult at the onset of women's collective action initiatives became far more conducive—in the three of these areas villages were particularly difficult but there were some indications of a conducive district environment (Gresik, Central Lombok and East Lombok) there is now fertile ground for continued change to improve the position and welfare of women.

Figure 39: Changes Over Time in Village and District Environments after Several Years of Empowerment Interventions



Equally, while the Cirebon village was reasonably open to women's empowerment initiatives, there was initially a weak institutional environment at the district level. Not only have village conditions improved and a 'Aisyiyah cadre has been given the position of Village Secretary, a multitude of policies and regulations and new programs have been introduced in the District. 'Aisyiyah cadre/group members have also received presidential awards and been involved in district decision-making forums.

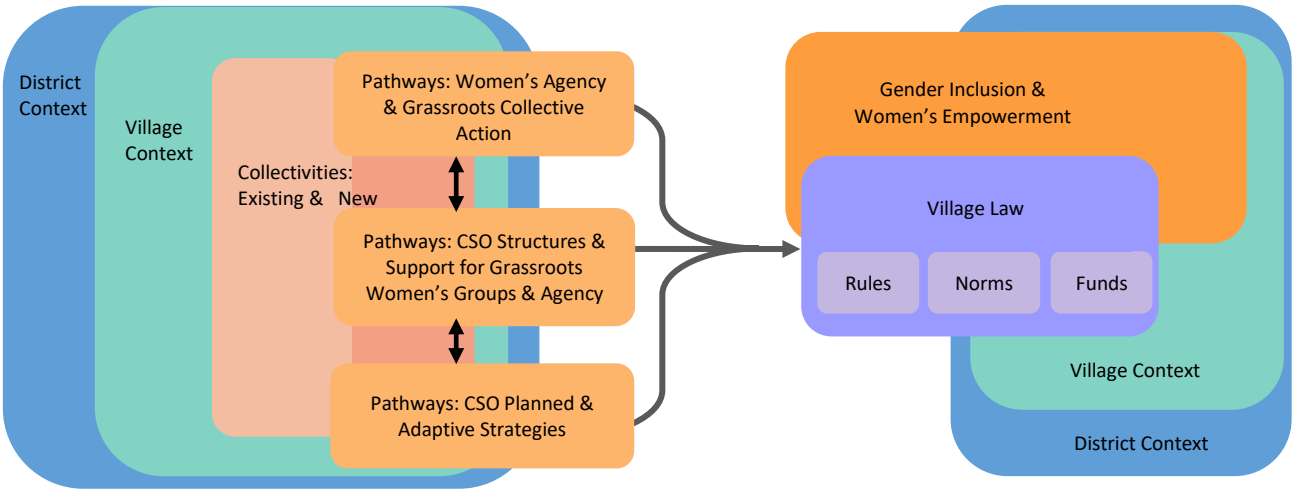
Even in the most difficult places there has been some change. Two of these districts (Pangkep and TTU) are now far more conducive than they were at the onset, and the village contexts in Bangkalan (East Java) and Labuhan Batu have also improved, although village conditions still remain somewhat difficult in these four regions to varying degrees. In the Pangkep intervention research village, one of the women in the Women's School was asked to run for the district elections, and was proud to do so. Although, as is discussed below, some of the early gains in this village have regressed with a change in village leadership.

Monitoring the ways village women, together with CSOs concerned with gender inclusion and women's empowerment, might shift context dynamics over time, and identifying where there might be risks of regression, particularly at village level, is crucial in understanding how women's collective action can influence the Village Law and how this can be sustained. From 2014 onwards when MAMPU CSO Partners began to implement program-supported initiatives, in some places the features of the district context evolved to be more conducive to supporting gender inclusion and women's empowerment, which in turn had implications for village-level activities and Village Law implementation. The deeper changes in the enabling environment were, in part, the result of the advocacy work undertaken by many CSOs either directly supported by MAMPU (where they had a national office and a branch structure) or supported by MAMPU via partnerships between national organisations and regional organisations, and in collaboration with other CSOs and development programs. These changes were also due to shifts in the political environment and the increased knowledge on the part of local government actors and leaders on how to support women's empowerment.

Again, the dynamics in Pangkep District in South Sulawesi provide an illustrative example of how the district-level institutional environment became more conducive to supporting gender inclusion and the women's empowerment agenda over time. First, the district developed its regulations on women's empowerment and child protection, among others, with the external support of CSOs engaged by MAMPU and other programs. Creating these regulations and associated policies not only signalled to the public and government institutions in the district that women's needs and rights were a priority, but also helped secure a sectoral budget for the District Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection for designated programs. With the strong regulatory framework that CSOs helped develop over time, and the sectoral budget allocation to fund staff and activities to support villages, the district was better able to collaborate with CSOs and others to scale up initiatives already underway, and to launch district-initiated programs and activities to support women's empowerment.

Overall, in returning to conceptual framework, the analysis throughout this report has illustrated how the pathways by which local women's collective action, often with the support of CSOs, influenced not only women's wellbeing and Village Law implementation, but also the conduciveness of village and district environments to broader gender inclusion and women's empowerment (see Figure 40).

Figure 40: Pathways to Outcomes: Village Law, Women's Empowerment and Context Changes



8.5 Critical junctures: Ruptures and opportunities

Over time contexts for women's empowerment shifted, yet in some contexts these shifts occurred more rapidly while in others there was some regression through critical junctures and ruptures in expected trajectories. These ruptures presented both threats and opportunities for gender inclusion and women's empowerment. Ruptures were precipitated by a range of events and factors including District or Village Head elections, national policy changes, natural disasters, and changing NGO or donor agendas, among others.

For example, in the research village in Pangkep, by 2016, women had successfully advocated for Village Funds to be allocated for the Women's School. However, when the Village Head candidate with whom they had established close ties lost the election, they were perceived by the incoming candidate to be in the wrong camp, and he actively sought to block funding and their involvement in village meetings (also discussed further in the next sub-section). One Women's School member described how she would chase down the Village Head in the street to demand financial accountability and turn up to meetings anyway, but nonetheless funds were not forthcoming after the first year. See Box 34.

Box 34: A Story of Change in Pangkep—Women Driving Change through Women's Schools

This case study examines the establishment of a Women's School (Sekolah Perempuan) in an island village in Pangkajene and Islands District, South Sulawesi. With the support of KAPAL Perempuan in partnership with the Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation (YKPM) in South Sulawesi, island women organised to form grassroot women's groups in each island in the village, under the banner of the Women's School. The School has become a vehicle for women's advocacy to respond to many complex challenges they face as island women, among others, restrictive social norms that limit women's opportunities, a lack of access to basic infrastructure to meet their needs such as electricity and clean water, and a lack of access to economic support and social protection programs.

Island women have augmented their intrinsic and practical skills by participating in various training and education activities for group members, such as education on gender equity and ideology, leadership training, as well as the development of knowledge and technical skills on accessing government social protection programs. Moreover, the Women's School has become a mechanism through which island women can develop their networks of support, not only with fellow island women, but also with the district and village government.

The Women's School has effected several positive changes in the village. First, women's active participation in Women's School activities helped them to raise critical awareness among themselves and other women, especially on gender equity, rights and their access to social protection programs, and to be more confident in voicing out their opinions and aspirations. Second, improvements of women's intrinsic and practical skills enabled them to collectively participate in village decision-making forums from which they had previously been marginalised. As Laila, the head of the Women's School, describes, members surveyed villagers' needs in a sub-village meeting before attending the Musrenbangdes and strategically advised on how to make proposals.

"Before the village Musrenbang, we had a sub-village Musrenbang and invited people who wanted to attend. We asked them what they needed [and] to say it like this or that because of what the Village Head is like." Laila, Pangkep research village, 25 February 2019.

Third, their advocacy in these forums has resulted in the greater fulfilment of basic needs, not only those of the women, but also the needs of the island people in general. According to these women, their most significant achievement is gaining Village Fund allocations for women's savings and loans activities. Savings and loans opportunities helped meet women's needs for financial capital for new businesses and livelihood alternatives. Finally, women's advocacy has resulted in securing support and funds for the development of basic facilities such as clean water, sanitation facilities, and solar-powered electricity, as well as government recognition of fisherwomen that enable fisherwomen to access government-funded fishing equipment.

These early successes of the Women's School groups initially occurred with the strong networked support of the village and district governments. Yet, the political situation in the village changed when a new Village Head was elected, who sought to exclude these women from village decision-making meetings, which weakened support for Women's School activities. Such political dynamics have also delayed the passing of a draft Village Regulation that would have legitimised the Women's School as a strategic partner of the village government. These dynamics indicate that despite some early wins, in restrictive and patriarchal village power structures, changes in women's influence may sometimes only be partial, and often incremental.

In contrast with some of these setbacks in support for women at the village level, women's political participation both at the district and village levels has been strengthened in other ways. One of the group leaders of the Women's School was nominated as a candidate for district legislative elections in 2019. She had the backing of elite political figures in the district. Although her candidacy was unsuccessful, her political participation was an expression of women's agency that was uncommon in the district and she has provided inspiration for others to express their political aspirations. In addition, women's everyday political participation is evident through the establishment of a Complaints Post in the village for people to report challenges encountered in social protection programs. The Post signifies an alternative form of women's collective influence and participation in village development processes, albeit informally, in the midst of an inconducive political environment in the village. The Post also embodies women's symbolic stance in monitoring the delivery of social protection programs on their islands. Furthermore, the Post provides an informal space for women to develop solidarity and share information.

The case study demonstrates how increasing women's expressions of agency through collective action, as well as developing their networks, has empowered them to advocate for the fulfillment of their needs, and brought benefits to the island community at large. The case study also illustrates how the trajectory of women's collective influence is not always upwards and positively linear over time. The trajectory of women's collective influence might also differ between village and district levels. Nevertheless, the ongoing presence of some supporters of the Women's School in the village, and much support from the district government, as well as women's own perseverance has helped to sustain the group's women's empowerment activities.

Across the sites, elections represented a change in the environment for either regression or advancement of the empowerment agenda. In Cirebon District (described in Box 12), being associated with losing Village Heads had the potential to undermine empowerment efforts. Equally, alignment with newly elected officials could create opportunities. In some cases, Village Head elections saw, to a degree (depending the political

economy of each village), the opportunity for women to express their preferences. It also allowed village women, other actors and CSOs to advance the gender inclusion and women's empowerment agenda (even in the face of resistance from other factions in the village) as was the case in East Lombok when BaKTI's constituent group chairperson was elected as the Village Head. He had already successfully lobbied for a Village Fund allocation for a village ambulance and funds for a safe house for victims of domestic violence, and was able to continue to pursue the agenda and support a Village Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children enacted in 2018. In Tanggamus, the election of a female District Head has also presented new policy opportunities in a place that has already been quite open to domestic violence prevention initiatives.

These ruptures can be an opportunity for women's empowerment through giving women the chance to demonstrate their capabilities. For example, after a natural disaster in North Lombok, women in the Women's Schools quickly provided the services needed by villagers and demonstrated their knowledge and capacities in rapidly changing circumstances. Critical junctures and ruptures contributed, in different cases, to both rapid progression and regression.

8.6 Temporality: Progression and regression

The shifts of the context over time, either through gradual change or ruptures, meant that there were examples in the study of both progression (summarised above) and regression in women's collective action—women's journeys are not always upwardly linear and progressive. The Pangkep research village saw initial progress in women's empowerment and increases in collective action and influence on the Village Law. However, with later changes in village leadership, there was significant regression. As one interviewee explained.

> *"When we were invited to the Musrenbang, we spoke about what [our island] needs. After Pak Andi finished his term as Village Head, we stopped being invited. I recently asked Bu [the Hamlet Head], 'Can we come to the MusDus [Hamlet decision-making meetings]', and Bu said, 'Yes, you can, but I don't know when the Musrenbang will be, so I don't know when the MusDus will be'. That was her response. The Women's School will continue, it can be beneficial, there are lots more women who can feel its benefits, there are many women who do not know about it which mean that they don't know its benefits."* Julianti, Pangkep research village, 2 March 2019.

In some cases, village groups were resilient in the face of these setbacks. This resilience relied on a range of contextual factors including the prominence of women's empowerment discourse in the public domain, the degree of institutionalisation of women's empowerment in written policies and regulations, the level of support from the district, the level of existing resourcing of women's collective action, a diverse range of champions, and the degree to which women's groups had wide networks through which they could influence power holders.

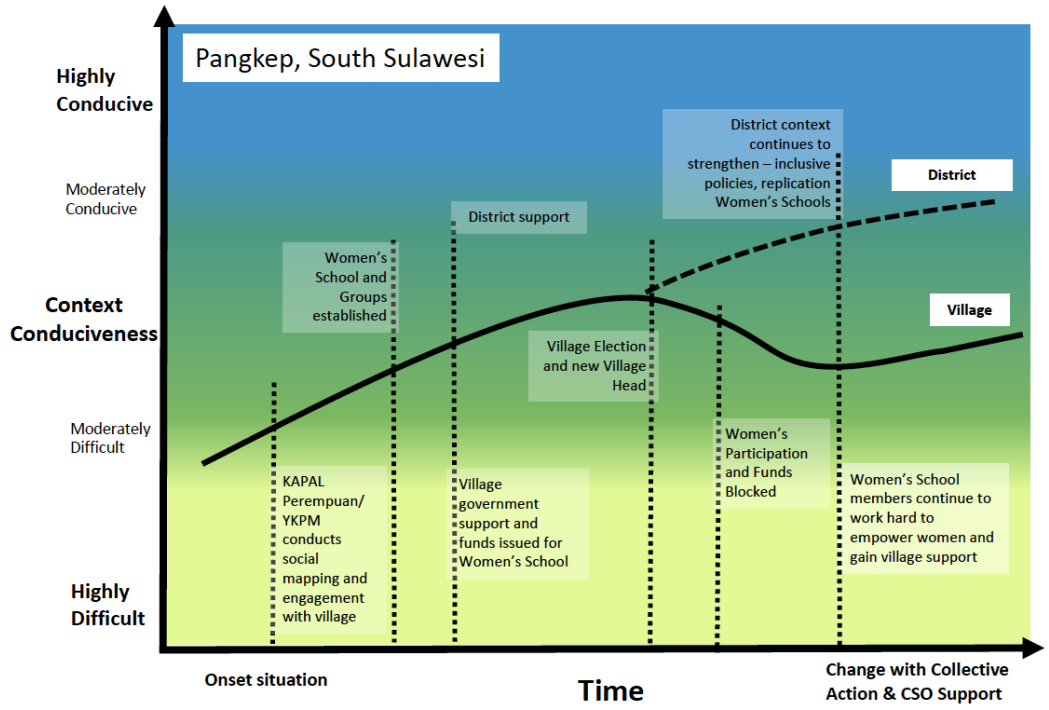
Second, as the district institutional environment strengthened, this interacted with the village-level dynamics, which also evolved over time. For example, in observing the concrete benefits of village-level collective action activities for women in the Pangkep District, such as the Women's Schools, the district government in turn looked to scale up the initiative. The district government provided funding and support for new Women's Schools in other villages and encouraged villages to support these efforts with their own budgets. As the Pangkep Deputy District Head explained:

> *"We are always open to ideas from civil society organisations. They are our partners in development. As long as they are good for the people, including for women, we are willing to replicate their programs in other villages.*

What the Women's Schools [program] did was very good. The program enables women to be confident and independent, including as fisherwomen, which has traditionally been men's domain. We understand that one of Women's School participants is a fisherwoman. She can inspire other women, and should not be embarrassed by what she is doing." Makassar, 2 March 2019.

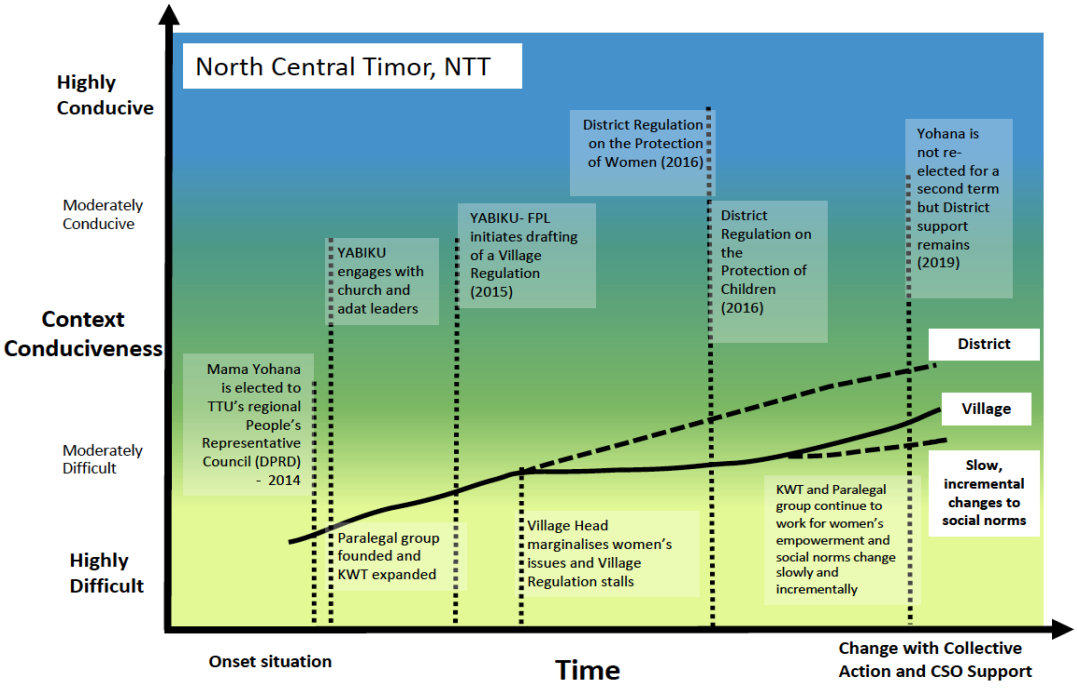
Thus, it is clear from the dynamics in Pangkep and elsewhere that progress made to influence village and district contexts does not always move at the same speed or in the same direction due to context dynamics, even if similar degrees of support and types of initiatives are provided in different regions. This is illustrated in Figure 41. While village governments are politically independent from district governments, district governments play a coordinating role for villages and a percentage of the Village Fund comes from district budgets, which increases the opportunities for district governments to endorse certain programs, including women's empowerment programs. The impact of the collective action activities at the village level and the advocacy work at the district level was somewhat iterative—district policies reinforced village initiatives, which in turn strengthened and informed district policies. This was particularly the case with concrete activities that could be funded and implemented. This trend was widely observed in the research sites—in places where a strong institutional environment developed to support women's empowerment at the district level (whether due to the advocacy work of CSOs, or to existing conditions that supported inclusive policies for women), CSOs were able to leverage the districts to encourage villages to support their empowerment activities.

Figure 41: Trajectory of Change in Pangkep


Pangkep, South Sulawesi
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
District context continues to strengthen – inclusive policies, replication Women's Schools
District
District support
Women's School and Groups established
Village
Village Election and new Village Head
Women's Participation and Funds Blocked
KAPAL Perempuan/ YKPM conducts social mapping and engagement with village
Village government support and funds issued for Women's School
Women's School members continue to work hard to empower women and gain village support
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support

The findings from a selection of research regions presented in Annex 6 shows the diversity of progress over time. In some places at critical political moments village-level progress on gender-inclusiveness regressed while the district environment continued on the path to greater conduciveness. It is evident too in the analysis that changes in social norms tend to lag behind institutional changes, which is illustrated in Figure 42 and in other trajectories of change presented in Annex 6.

Figure 42: Trajectory of Change in North Central Timor


North Central Timor, NTT
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
Mama Yohana is elected to TTU's regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) - 2014
YABIKU engages with church and adat leaders
YABIKU- FPL initiates drafting of a Village Regulation (2015)
District Regulation on the Protection of Women (2016)
District Regulation on the Protection of Children (2016)
Yohana is not re-elected for a second term but District support remains (2019)
District
Village
Slow, incremental changes to social norms
Paralegal group founded and KWT expanded
Village Head marginalises women's issues and Village Regulation stalls
KWT and Paralegal group continue to work for women's empowerment and social norms change slowly and incrementally
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action and CSO Support

8.7 Sectoral differences

There were some differences between CSO strategies related to the sectoral focus of programs that are important to note. Changing norms associated with cultural taboos was a long-term agenda that might be supported by Village Regulations after a significant period of trust building, women's collective action, and service support, but would not immediately produce behavioural changes on the ground. Sequencing, as described above was important, as was providing services such as paralegal support, safehouses, counselling and so on. Many MAMPU CSO Partners helped establish such support, particularly throughout the FPL network. The research found that behavioural change tended to be slowest in sectors such as reducing violence against women, women's reproductive health, and tackling child marriage, as we can see in Figure 42 above.

Further, in the employment and labour rights sector, many CSOs work at the district level or in urban areas and tend to have less impact directly on the implementation of the Village Law unless they directly target villages, but nonetheless, they make important inroads in bolstering the rights and protections for precarious homeworkers working in cottage industries who are often women. We can see in the case studies below (see Box 35 and Box 36) how both BITRA in Deli Serdang District in North Sumatra and Yasanti in Bantul District in Yogyakarta have, together with village women, strategically influenced change in policies, union establishment, union membership and union registration. We can also see the importance of undertaking empowerment initiatives at both district and village levels.

Yasanti provides direct support to homeworkers to both build skills, identify, and advocate for the protection of labour rights and work conditions, while also advocating for policy changes in districts and beyond. This has not only had empowerment impacts and effects on the Village Law, but grassroots pressures from women on district officials have bolstered policy change in Bantul.

Box 35: A Story of Change in Bantul—Recognising and Increasing Protections for Homeworkers

In the Bantul research village, women have limited livelihood opportunities outside of informal sectors and home industries. The most common types of home-based work include sewing crafts, bags, clothes, and bordering material to be sold to larger enterprises, at local markets and online. Women have often faced challenges due to homeworker industries not being formally recognised as employment, particularly in accessing health insurance and social security. Without formal recognition, many women reported experiencing unfair employment practices. For example, Citra describes how an employer did not provide the materials required to carry out her work.

"For example, with thread, some people give you some but others don't. If you're not given thread, then you buy it for yourself. How can you protest if they're your neighbour? Especially because we really need these jobs." Citra, Secretary of Kreatif Bunda Homeworkers Union, 23 October 2019.

Yasanti has long focused on supporting homeworkers in this region and in the Yogyakarta area since it was established in 1982. It has supported village women to establish 10 homeworkers unions, five of which are located in Bantul District, including the Kreatif Bunda (Creative Mothers) Homeworkers Union in the research village. Since 2008, Yasanti has aimed to support village women (including homeworkers) to be involved in hamlet (MusDus) and village (MusDes) consultative forums, while also enhancing women's gender awareness, understanding of worker's rights, and improving their practical skills. One woman described the benefit she feels from joining a union for women homeworkers:

"I learned a lot of things by joining the Union. I learned about gender, about bookkeeping, about administration in business, and how we can manage time as workers and as mothers who need to take care of our kids. Also, I learn about safety while working." Widyati, Member of the Kreatif Bunda Homeworkers Union, 24 October 2019.

According to many members, bookkeeping is one of the most valuable skills that they have gained:

"I am so hopeless when it comes to bookkeeping. I don't know how to do it. During the training, I learned how to do it. My bookkeeping is neat now, and ever since I am aware how much money I earn, and how much I spend. Thanks to bookkeeping, now I know all of that. I also learn how to make priorities. The training taught us how to be careful about what we spend." Member of Kreatif Bunda Homeworkers Union, 24 October 2019.

At the village and district levels, Yasanti has succeeded in supporting village women to advocate for new regulations. At the district level, they successfully advocated for and provided technical support to the Head of the Manpower Office to design and enact Decision (No.98, 2017) on Homeworkers Unions, and to the Village Head to design and enact a Village Head's Decision on Homeworkers Unions in 2018, which includes stipulations for a Village Fund Allocation for the Kreatif Bunda Homeworkers Union.

"YASANTI provided assistance. It helped form groups and create awareness [among women]. [Women] were invited to organise [into union groups]. What's more, the women were dedicated to the trainings… The women were invited to participate in a dialogue with the Lurah [Head of the Urban Precinct] and Village Head. And, now there is a [new] Village Head Decision [that recognises and supports homeworkers]. Women are also now involved in policy making and both village and hamlet development planning meetings. And, women's proposals [to support homeworkers] have been included in the RPJMD this year, and last year a program was even funded." Ira, Yasanti Program Manager, Bantul research village, 22 October 2019.

Since the 2018 Village Head Decision on Homeworkers was issued, the Kreatif Bunda Homeworkers Union has held an equal position with other village institutions, such as the PKK and youth organisations, in village budgeting. This has enhanced their involvement in various village and hamlet meetings.

"Yes, we usually only bring issues to the Musrenbang... At least the mothers, they know about village programs. If the village holds a Musrenbang, and they know about the Musrenbang, they join in. They eventually gained understanding about manufacturing chains too." Ratnawati, Former Village Head, Bantul research village, 24 October 2019.

By forming homeworkers unions, women in Bantul have improved their business skills, increased their knowledge of workplace health and safety, and advocated for formal recognition of their rights at the village and district levels.

In contrast, BITRA has tended to mainly work at the district level and with women's groups spread across localities and has, to date, been less focused on Village Law implementation. BITRA also started from scratch in mid-2014, whereas Yasanti already had two decades of experience.

The sectors also operate differently in terms of the structure of the industries that the homeworkers distribute to and how distribution is managed. In Deli Serdang, middle-men called *tauke* distribute jobs to female homeworkers, while in Bantul the business owners live in the village, as neighbours of the homeworkers. This influences the closeness of the relationships between homeworkers and business owners and the importance of also focusing on village institution strengthening. The village environments are also different. In the Deli Serdang research village, political families are very strong and exclusionary. They have dominated village power structures and controlled village politics for more than a decade. Yet, at the district and provincial level, the situation is more favourable. North Sumatra is known for its long history of labour rights movements, which have paved the way for BITRA's networks and the women's collective action it facilitates. For instance, when BITRA has advocated for a new local regulation on homeworkers, other existing labour unions have assisted them in lobbying influential figures in the government.

In Bantul on the other hand, the political environment at the village level has been more welcoming to empowerment initiatives compared to Deli Serdang. The former Village Head, who was female, strongly supported Yasanti's endeavours early on. Their advocacy and support for women's grassroots collective action resulted in a Village Head Decision on Homeworkers Unions in 2018, the technical drafting of which was supported by Yasanti and women in the Union. At the district level, Yasanti has had a good relationship with the district government too, as demonstrated by the Decision (No 98, 2017) on Homeworkers Unions issued by the Head of the Manpower Office.

Box 36: Story of Change in Deli Serdang—Recognising Homeworkers and Increased Access to Social Protection and Insurance

In the research village in Deli Serdang District, for women, homeworker cottage industries are a popular livelihood due to limited employment opportunities and social norms about married women's mobility.

"Generally, women cannot leave their home without their husband's permission. So, women can't go anywhere, especially us Muslim women. These women's husbands don't usually permit them to leave the house." Reni, Head of the Straw Credit Union, Deli Serdang research village, 10 November 2019.

While homeworkers have existed in the village for many decades, they were not supported by CSOs until BITRA began initiatives in 2014 to help village homeworkers to organise, to educate homeworkers about workers' rights and gender empowerment, and to help homeworkers improve their work conditions. To support collective action among women homeworkers, BITRA helped establish homeworker unions to provide a platform for collective action among women homeworkers. To build trust, initially, BITRA members went door-to-door to ask women to join a union and educate them about the importance of joining a union.

After three months of employing this strategy, homeworkers were finally able to hold group meetings with BITRA support. Held under the banner of SPPR (*Sekolah Peningkatan Kapasitas Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan*—School for Increasing Women Homeworkers' Capacity), women learned about gender, leadership, negotiation skills, and other livelihoods skills such as sewing and acupressure, and small business enterprises.

"We participated in a lot of types of training sessions, which made us more courageous to come forward [and speak]. Before these training sessions, when we introduced ourselves by name in a group, lots of people even said their name wrong. Now it's not like that, it feels normal looking at people's faces." Mila, Head of the Straw Group, Deli Serdang research village, 9 November 2019.

BITRA also facilitated the establishment of a Credit Union after social mapping revealed high dependency of women homeworkers on loan sharks.

"Many of them have experienced changes since the Credit Union started in terms of meeting their everyday needs. In the past they had to borrow from moneylenders, most of them are loan sharks here." Diah, BITRA Field Staff, 9 November 2019.

BITRA's unions were successfully registered with the provincial government. The Union structure extends from village level to the district and provincial levels. Since the Union was officially established, all homeworkers activities are more structured and organised.

"Yes, it's better to be in a union than not be in a union. If the union comes together, we become one. If it is not a union, then it will break into pieces. There is no cohesiveness." Mila, Deputy Chairperson of DPC SPR Sejahtera, 9 November 2019.

BITRA has also been a strong advocate for a District Regulation to protect homeworkers. In the absence of a regulation, BITRA has pursued other routes to improve the welfare of homeworkers by supporting the unions to advocate for health insurance through the District Office of Social Affairs. This led to the inclusion of homeworkers on the list of recipients for free healthcare through the National Health Insurance schemes (BPJS), which prior to such advocacy was not accessible as homeworker 'work' was not recognised.

"Yes, I got the card. I was given BPJS Employment insurance for 3 months, and after that I paid for myself, it was only IDR 16,800. The thing is that BPJS Employment system doesn't issue fines, so if we can't pay the policy is just stopped, and if we have money later, we can re-join without a problem. Wire weaving work is also risky, as hands get pinched and scratched. There really is a big risk." Mia, Secretary of SPR-Sejahtera, research village in Deli Serdang, 8 November 2019.

Despite ongoing challenges to implementing policy change at the village and district levels, women, through grassroots union organising, have successfully gained access to other government assistance and social protection, through the District Head's Integrated Referral Service System regulation (Sistem Layanan Rujukan Terpadu - SLRT), which recognises their status as workers. At the time of the research, the village had also become more open to women participating in decision-making forums and a number of women participated in the 2019 Musrenbangdes. Building on their experience in gaining access to free National Health Care, members of SPR Sejahtera have also been recommended by the village government to assist other villagers, thereby further increasing access for other villagers to social protection.

While there was variation across the sites in the strategies needed to overcome sectoral challenges and related context constraints, the strategy used in the homeworkers sector to support village women was similar to that used by MAMPU Partners in other areas and sectors. First, these MAMPU CSO Partners sought to support village women to establish a group (unions) as a platform for women to strengthen their individual and collective skills, knowledge, networks and agency and propensity for collective action. Second, they sought to facilitate village women's increased knowledge and understanding of women's rights, in this case in relation to wages and workers' rights. Third, they focused on building skills in leadership and public speaking. Fourth, they focused on institutionalising changes for homeworkers through regulations at the village, district and provincial levels.

9.

CONCLUSION

9. Conclusion

In this study, we have explored the core research questions outlined in the Introduction and in Section 2: in what contexts, to what extent and through what mechanisms has local collective action by women influenced the implementation of the Village Law? And, what is the role for CSOs in this process? In answering these questions, we have analysed:

- Village women's personal experiences of exercising voice and taking action over time,
- Patterns in the forms and intensity of local collective action and how this varies in different places, with many forms taking place in larger trajectories of change,
- How CSOs have supported village women to bolster their agency and collective voice, particularly through groups,
- How CSOs have supported village women and also undertaken other advocacy through planned and adaptive strategies to navigate different contexts at village and district levels,
- How these dynamics vary in different district and village contexts, including constraints and opportunities for improving gender inclusion and women's influence on governance, development and wider structures of power subnationally, and
- Ultimately the pathways by which such (varied) action might impact on the implementation of the Village Law.

To do this, we have drawn from different types and sources of qualitative data, including in-depth discussions (often repeated) and focus group discussions with some 600 people (especially more vulnerable women), conversations with many others, and observed dynamics during extended stays in villages and districts across 14 villages and 12 districts and municipalities in nine provinces—from Sumatra, to Java, to Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and East and West Nusa Tenggara. We have also drawn from analysis of women's life stories (see also Setiawan et al., 2020), from many extensive case studies of Stories of Change tracing processes and mechanisms of influence across the research sites (see also Savirani et al., 2020), from district and village context analysis, and CSO organisational and strategy analysis, excerpts of which are provided throughout this comparative report. We have used this ethnographic detail and multiple forms of analysis to comparatively explore the mechanisms and pathways by which women have influenced the implementation of the Village Law in many of the research sites and affected change more widely in some instances.

As was outlined in Section 2, other studies on the early implementation of the Village Law find that village women have tended to be less likely to influence the implementation of the Law at scale (see for example, Dharmawan et al., [2020], and Syukri et al. [2018]). However, these studies had few sites in the research sample where there were active civil society organisations supporting village communities and did not investigate in detail the mechanisms by which women have influenced Village Law implementation, if and when this does occur.

Thus, to fill this gap, our qualitative sampling strategy used a method of positive deviance for site selection. This involved including different regions across Indonesia where women's influence on Village Law implementation might have occurred to both capture the extensive socio-cultural and politico-economic diversity that might constrain or enhance women's influence and to trace and analyse the mechanisms underpinning such influence, if and when it does occur. It also involved including sites where CSOs were and were not operating to support village women, often through village group structures. We also sought to augment this deeper, mixed-methods qualitative research with analysis of data from databases that have

collated information from 27 provinces on the challenges encountered by village women and CSOs, and on women's group and CSO activities.

Analysis found that each of the research locations displayed significant diversity in the subnational structures of power and authority, which in many instances has created barriers to gender inclusion and women's empowerment but in others has created new opportunities for improving women's voice and influence, and importantly, their wellbeing.

In understanding how such influence occurs, and some of the ways support can be provided for rural village women to bolster their collective influence in public life, the findings are helpful for all audiences (not just CSOs) to understand how grassroots women's collective action might be supported by group structures of different kinds that involve women, and how, or via what mechanisms, external actors might help bolster women's influence in villages and beyond. That is, even if not working with CSOs as partners in initiatives to bolster gender-inclusion and women's influence in governance and other power structures, some of the features of the ways CSOs have supported women in the research sites to facilitate or augment their agency certainly constitute important learning for other settings, actors and agencies concerned with gender-inclusive governance, structures of power, and socio-economic development.

9.1 What have we learned?

Section 3: Dimensions of context constraining and enabling gender inclusion and women's empowerment

In Section 3 we described the substantial variation across district and village contexts. We illustrated just how different the challenges are for poverty reduction, gender inclusion, women's empowerment and improving women's wellbeing across the archipelago. District and village contexts interact with and shape the pathways for women to have influence on village development, governance and wider structures of social and political power in rural Indonesian society more generally.

Context dynamics create different types of challenges and opportunities for village women to exercise individual and collective agency and collective voice and action. They inform the types and intensity of different forms of collective action that village women lead. They also inform the nature of (and variation in) the on-the-ground initiatives that CSOs take to support village women to strengthen their skills, capacity, resources, and knowledge to improve their wellbeing and to address challenges they encounter in each place to influence structures of power and decision making. Context dynamics also have implications for the many approaches CSOs, often together with village women, take in the structured, organisational forms of women's collective action through advocacy to effect change in the policy environment. All of this, in turn, has implications for the degree to which women can influence governance and decision making, including the implementation of the Village Law, so as to improve their wellbeing.

It is evident from the analysis in Section 3, that there is a range of factors that create constraints on and opportunities for gender inclusion and women's empowerment. In particular we described:

- Different institutional rules (policies and regulations) and budget priorities at district and village levels,
- Ways the political economy in districts and villages may constrain gender inclusion and empowerment agendas, particularly when women seek to influence the status quo distribution of power and allocation of resources,

- Existing political will of state and social leaders to take up or support gender inclusion and women's empowerment agendas in districts and villages,
- The degree of alignment between the existing development needs, gaps, priorities and political interests, and the key concerns of women and CSOs in districts and villages,
- The types and nature of networks between actors, as well as
- More informal cultural and social norms.

Some regions displayed a high degree of plurality in terms of the scale and diversity of the political and social institutions, organisations and leadership that have significant institutional, political and social influence. Others were narrower: there are fewer influential actors, organisations and institutions, and more closely aligned interests which may or may not be committed to empowerment agendas.

Overall, we have described in detail three broad categories of contexts which are more or less conducive to gender inclusion as well as women's influence through collective action. We have developed indicators of 'difficulty' in contexts for introducing or strengthening empowerment initiatives. *Highly difficult contexts* for gender inclusion, empowering women, and ultimately influencing decision making and wider structures of power are those in which there are weak, if any, policies, regulations and frameworks that encourage women's empowerment, or affirmative action to improve the position of poor women in particular, at both district and village levels. They also often have strong social norms that limit women's influence in public realms and community decision making, which are often informed by cultural taboos that constrain public discussion on key issues affecting women such as gender-based violence and women's reproductive health. In such contexts, power tends to be concentrated in the hands of a small set of authority figures, both state and social leaders, and they tend to be resistant to empowerment agendas, particularly those that might challenge status quo authority structures. In addition, in these contexts there tend to be few groups in which women can comfortably and collectively act, or when these groups exist, they are limited in the diversity of membership and thereby not representative of actual women's needs.

In *moderately difficult contexts* for building women's influence, many of the features of highly difficult contexts are present at either district or village level. However, at one or the other of these levels, there are some opportunities that exist in the institutional, social or political context to improve the position of women, even if these are limited. Further, such contexts display openings for change at either but not both levels. The village leadership might be supportive of change, but often do not quite know how to achieve this. Or, at the district level, there may be champions of women's empowerment that have begun to introduce new policies, or are open to doing so, but this is yet to culminate in a supportive context for gender inclusion in decision making and wider women's empowerment.

Finally, in some research sites both the district and village context were together more conducive to women's empowerment, collective action and ultimately women's influence over the implementation of the Village Law. In *conducive contexts* (at the onset, our sites tended to be *moderately* rather than *highly* conducive), there tends to be a greater degree of plurality of authoritative figures, (early) indicators of policy, institutional, and leadership support for empowerment or openness to change. In these contexts there often is a stronger representation of women in decision-making positions (particularly at the district level), and stronger and more diverse groups and forums for collective action and decision making. Further, when CSO priority issues are aligned with that of the leadership, there tends to be less resistance to new initiatives in these areas. Whether a place can be considered moderately or highly conducive to gender inclusion is contingent on the degree to which gender inclusion has been institutionalised and embedded in practice.

Section 4: Village Law impacts and women's experiences of change

Drawing on ethnographic detail, Section 4 of this report illustrated the collective action impacts on the Village Law and for women. It demonstrated that in places where women had influenced Village Law implementation, there was great diversity in the kinds of village development initiatives implemented, which include but have gone beyond infrastructure and economic development. Initiatives cover village economic *and* social policies and projects, support for training, skills development and information dissemination, service delivery and a range of other initiatives. To institute these changes, in many cases women have also initiated and led new multi-stakeholder forums, task forces, and other mechanisms to tackle particular issues, and garnered the support of other stakeholders for their initiatives and to participate in these forums.

Section 4 also provided an overview of village women's experiences of changes in how they view gender dynamics and what change in their experiences of growing voice and influence has meant for them. For women in rural areas, who are deeply embedded in closely-tied social networks that shape village life, women's collective action does not necessarily involve more extreme forms of 'collective protest on the streets' to what are often unknown authoritative actors with significant power. Rather, it involves interrelated dimensions of slowly and incrementally building confidence, skills, and knowledge to exercise voice and agency, individually and ultimately collectively, to influence in social norms and village-decisions.

This is often undertaken in the face of resistance from intimate friends and family, as well as authoritative actors in villages who have the power and influence to exclude women from the 'everyday' social, economic and other networks and opportunities on which they rely, often to survive in many cases in situations of extreme impoverishment. Women's journeys were varied and filled with accounts of perseverance, bravery and risk in promoting change for themselves, within households, and for their wider community through driving collective action with group support, in the face of threats, social stigma, and other risks. They encountered setbacks over time, which many were able to overcome—sometimes alone, sometimes with CSO support—indicating that village women's efforts to improve gender inclusion require time and continued support as journeys are not always positively and upwardly linear.

Section 4 also analysed the cohort experiences of those village women who emerged as key leaders and mobilisers in driving women's collective action, especially early on. Some had prior life experience in organising (as members of groups, including state-corporatist women's groups), or experience in public-facing roles through their income-generation activities or education, and/or learned to leverage social or family networks for support. These women were better equipped to take on leadership roles to mobilise and drive collective action when the opportunity arose, although were not always initially aware nor confident that they had such potential—some had not dreamed they could take on such leadership roles. Yet, such a background was not essential: others, particularly those from more vulnerable groups were also able to lead action with encouragement and group support. Understanding these cohort experiences among leaders is helpful for determining who might emerge as agents of change during new initiatives to support village women, particularly early on, but also over time.

Section 5: Pathways of influence—Women's agency and collective action

Section 5 of the report examined the forms, patterns and intensity of collective action—both formal and informal, some of which is difficult to disaggregate—through groups and networks in the research villages, and how these varied in different types of contexts. Many of the forms of collective action were interrelated,

sometimes sequential, sometimes overlapping and often mutually strengthening in the processes and trajectories of change mapped in villages, especially those that led to women having greater influence on the structures of power and decision making.

Examples of formal forms of collective action include women's (collective) participation in village government planning and decision-making forums such as MusDes and/or Musrenbangdes, in similar district government decision-making forums, or by their involvement in formulating the content of new regulations, policies and programs. It also includes participating in elections as candidates (although this was rare in rural areas) or strategically using the women's vote to elect candidates. At the intersection of formal and informal women's collective action was forming or strengthening and participating in women's groups or groups concerned with women's issues. This provided an important mechanism for not only making positive improvements in the lives of group members and other women through group activities that strengthened individual and collective agency, but provided a platform for collective action to influence decision making and structures of power via group participation in decision-making forums and provided a source of support for other forms of action.

Meanwhile, informal collective action takes place through informal women's spaces, by organising through social media or messaging platforms, through participatory data collection to understand women's key concerns and to develop a sense of solidarity among women, and through strengthening social networks among women and with other actors.

An important form too was what we describe as women's *networked* collective action in which village women strengthened networks of trust with other women (through groups and informal spaces), and with other community members, especially authoritative actors often through engagement in everyday settings. It then involved village women *leveraging* their newly established or existing *networks to garner support* for their endeavours. Mobilising support from other influential figures then created *multiple sources of pressure* on authoritative actors and ultimately decision-making forums and power structures, so as to influence outcomes to be more gender inclusive. Such processes were also helpful for overcoming challenges, particularly resistance among authoritative and influential figures to gender inclusiveness. Women's informal spaces and more formal groups bolstered this process by extending networks, providing a new arena in which to build individual and collective agency through shared knowledge, skills and resources, providing mutual support and a source of protection, and fostering a sense of solidarity and collective agency.

The patterns of collective action varied across the research sites. In highly difficult contexts, women's collective action was more informal, incremental, and non-confrontational. Networked collective action was one of the most important and intense forms of collective action in both highly and moderately difficult contexts. Women in these areas faced significant risks of extreme social exclusion, reduced socio-economic opportunities, being threatened, and violence (both within and outside the household). Collectively acting together with other influential actors helped reduce these risks. Aside from influential village and district 'champions', CSOs were also an important actor from which village women could draw support for their networked collective action.

Whereas some of these risks still existed in the moderately difficult areas, there were greater indications of, and scope for, change, often bolstered by CSO support. In these areas, women's collective action was more intense and varied, in formal and informal ways. Change may have still occurred in these areas much more unevenly and slowly, and faced deeper setbacks and risks, if women did not have the additional CSO support that was evident in the research sites. In more conducive areas, with CSO support, change happened more

quickly, and there was less need to rely significantly on more informal forms of collective action as there were less barriers to inclusion in formal decision-making forums. That is not to say informal collective action was not important as it certainly augmented the opportunities for more formal collective action, but rather that there were more existing (or quickly opening) opportunities for gender inclusion in the structures of power and decision making.

Overall, through both informal and formal collective action, women increasingly exercised voice and influence in the research 'intervention' villages, indicating the benefits of support for village women from trusted actors concerned with gender inclusion and women's influence in public arenas, which includes but is not limited to CSOs focused on gender inclusion and grassroots support for women. Such support had important knock-on effects for shaping the implementation of the Village Law in a manner that strengthened women's social capital and capacities to exercise voice and influence in public arenas, while also improving their wellbeing. CSOs may not have begun their programs to provide grassroots support to village women with influence on the implementation the Village Law also in their sights, but such support certainly had an effect in the sites explored in this study.

Section 6: Pathways of influence—CSO internal structures and support for grassroots women's groups and agency

One of the core interventions to support village women provided by MAMPU CSO Partners was to work with and through village groups either exclusively made up of women or with significant female membership and a focus on issues of concern to women. Section 6 described how supporting the creation or strengthening of safe, informal spaces and more formal, resourced, inclusive and organised groups for women, helped strengthen and grow women's social capital and their individual collective agency over time. Given many long-standing practices of exclusion, particularly from the public sphere, participation in the types of groups examined in this study helped strengthen village women's *power within*, that being their sense of self-worth and confidence, the *power* of women *to* act in public realms and their *power with* other women to engage in collective action and exercise greater (albeit not exclusive) *power over* structures of decision making and village development outcomes.

This occurred through multiple interacting and overlapping processes generated from group participation which augmented village women's sources of social capital and other forms of power, such as:

- Strengthening and diversifying supporting networks and friendships with other women,
- Developing a sense of solidarity and understanding of the issues facing many women,
- Growing and sharing skills (both practical skills and intrinsic skills), access to resources, and knowledge,
- Strengthening organisational and leadership skills and experience,
- Building confidence and mutual support to overcome barriers and obstacles,
- Developing women's collective strength to have wider influence, and, as mentioned above
- Providing an organised and recognised platform for: driving women's collective action of multiple forms, and for connecting to and collaborating with other actors and groups in villages and beyond to participate in women's wider networked collective action.

Village women across the archipelago, in different contexts and with different concerns, explained many times during the research how the CSOs trusted by these village women helped facilitate such groups and spaces, and provided additional support to navigate barriers to their inclusion in development decision

making. Across the 27 provinces where MAMPU CSO Partners implemented their initiatives, by June 2020, nearly 3500 groups were established with MAMPU program support, involving some 73,000 women and 3,000 men.

As was explored in Section 6, in many cases, CSOs collaborated with and supported existing women's groups to participate in their programs, and sought to broaden the group agenda to include dimensions of gender awareness and skills building and to diversify membership. In other places CSOs supported village women to create new women's groups. In some instances, CSOs supported villagers to establish mixed-gender multi-stakeholder groups (usually, with the exception of one case, alongside supporting groups exclusively for women), with the specific goal of articulating diverse needs, connecting to and influencing policy makers, and even circumventing existing structures of power in villages in which they were narrow and exclusive.

Each approach had its strengths and drawbacks, and the choices made were often dependent on the sectoral agenda of the CSO and whether this might traverse cultural taboos, resource availability, the degree to which CSOs already had established village-level relationships and the context dynamics. Exclusive women's groups, for instance, provided women with a safe space to develop their capacity but also required significant CSO staff and other resources to provide support, particularly in the first two years. Collaborating with and supporting existing groups was helpful for working more quickly with an established membership (and to broaden this membership), but there were risks of such groups being captured by established agendas. Meanwhile, mixed-gender multi-stakeholder groups had the advantage of having significant political influence while remaining close to the wider community, but were also at risk of being captured by other interests, or dominated by male members. They were most effective when accompanied by supporting other formal and informal spaces for women.

Supporting such groups helped strengthen women's essential capacity and readiness for acting individually and collectively to form the basis for fostering women's voice, influence and empowerment. Developing women's skills, knowledge, capabilities and confidence both improves women's everyday lives and has important implications for reducing gender inequities and effective policy implementation. For example, through supporting the development of livelihood skills (through savings and loans groups for cracker making, handicrafts, or other small businesses), women are given alternative ways to generate an income. This can have powerful implications for the lives of women and gives them more choices—as we have seen in Central Lombok, increased livelihood skills can decrease pressures to undertake international migrant work. For others, they are less dependent on their husbands and have more choices, which is particularly important in situations where household dynamics create physical and psychological risks for women. Supporting economic skills and thereby enhancing income generation often also aligns with village priorities and as such, is a way through which CSOs can build trust.

Another example of the activities CSO supported is the enhancement of women's access to health services. This has very real impacts on women's lives: they are better informed and can therefore exercise choice and reduce risks to their health. Information on rights and governance processes makes women more aware, and also enhances their voice in domestic and public spheres and their access to programs and services that increase their wellbeing. Finally, networks help increase interaction with peers but also government officials, enhance women's self-esteem, and may positively impact on women's representation and participation in decision-making processes. Across all research sites in this study we have found that through CSO support provided via women's groups, women have developed more skills to improve their lives and that of their families.

Most importantly, it was evident across the 'intervention' research sites that CSOs sought to increase the size and diversity of group membership, especially for vulnerable women in the sectors in which they worked, so that they could grow their power and collective strength. Supporting such groups helped strengthen women's essential capacity and readiness for acting individually and collectively as the basis for fostering women's voice, influence and empowerment. Through this process women were also better able to participate in decision making, exercise voice and influence village decision-making so as to give better attention to women's self-determined needs.

Irrespective of the choices made by CSOs in establishing or working with groups, across all research villages we have seen that these groups have made significant contributions to village governance. Examples are increased female participation in village decision-making processes, and influence over the implementation of the Village Law. This includes new regulations that prioritise women's needs or are sensitive to gender inequities, and allocations of the Village Fund that benefit women.

The CSOs and mass women's organisations involved in the study also had different organisational structures, networks, and length of establishment, worked at different scales, focused on different issues, and worked in different regions (with varied context difficulties for promoting gender inclusion), which had implications for how they supported the different groups mentioned above. As Section 6 explained, they consisted of either national (or large regional) networks of organisations (some network member organisations also have their own partner organisations), national-subnational organisational partnerships supporting women in particular regions, or organisations connecting to communities with branch structures, with growing scale over time. They also connected to communities through different combinations of staff, paid and unpaid community organisers and village cadres, which can change over time.

These dimensions have implications for: 1) Choices of targets, resourcing decisions and the nature and depth of impacts at different scales. 2) How CSOs collaborate with development partners on new initiatives. 3) External support for CSOs, which is unlikely to be amenable to a one size fits all approach. Analysis in Section 6 found CSO planning choices were made to have the greatest impacts within the bounds of their organisational structures/networks and were often dependent on human/financial resource availability, their sectoral focus and whether this might traverse cultural taboos. In addition, the degree to which CSOs already had established district or village-level relationships, context dynamics, and the nature of the activity at hand also had implications for their choices and approach to establishing, extending or strengthening their connections to and support for women at the grassroots level.

Section 6 explained how each had advantages and trade-offs in terms of depth or scale of reach, speed of implementing initial support for village women versus longer term sustainability and knowledge transfer, and the kinds of requirements for managing risks for the CSO and for village women. What was most important across these different models of engagement was the extent of support for villagers. We found that the more embedded CSOs are in the everyday lives of women, the better they understand their challenges and in so doing are better equipped to support them to develop solutions to overcome obstacles and navigate context dynamics.

Section 7: Pathways of influence—CSO strategic and adaptive approaches

In Section 7, we explored the other ways that the 15 MAMPU CSO Partners in the study supported village women more indirectly and undertook their own more structured advocacy (as a form of women's collective action) to influence and navigate varied contexts in strategic and adaptive ways over time. We have

described their efforts to build an environment supportive of collective action. How well CSOs were able to support women's collective action in these different contexts and overcome barriers to gender inclusion and women's empowerment was partly contingent on how well they—often together with village women but sometimes directly—were able to engage both village and district governments in the gender inclusion and women's empowerment agenda. Many MAMPU CSO Partners were successful in working with a multitude of actors, including village women, to improve the institutional environment over time, and to varying degrees. This process tended to be slower in moderately and highly difficult contexts, or when village and district governments did not deem it a priority to try to do so.

In response, the CSOs in this study—each of which had a focus on gender inclusion, which is not the case for all CSOs and mass organisations in Indonesia—used a range of approaches to gain support for their initiatives from district and village officials, other influential actors, and villagers themselves, particularly at the onset of their programs. CSOs targeted policy development through the creation and influencing of regulations to bolster gender inclusion and women's empowerment at district and village levels, with the recognition that simply gaining in principle commitment from the district and village leadership to support gender inclusion was insufficient for ensuring action on the ground. Between July 2014 and October 2019, some 670 national, provincial, district, subdistrict, and Village/Customary Village Regulations, decisions, and other technical policy instruments were either enacted or in progress, to which MAMPU CSO Partners (usually together with village women for Village Regulations) had specifically contributed with MAMPU program support.

However, even when regulations or policies were developed, there was often a significant lag to implementation. Even in favourable circumstances, the development of regulations, from ratification to policy enactment and implementation usually takes 6-12 months. With complex regulations or when there are implications at district or higher levels of government, this lag from ratification to implementation can be longer—between 18 months and two years. Therefore, any assessment of the impact of CSOs working on gender inclusion and women's empowerment needs to take into consideration the time frames that are necessary, especially in challenging contexts, to map and navigate the context, build trust and engage influential actors in institutional reform and on-the-ground initiatives.

The sequencing of CSO approaches, both in the stages of entry to districts and villages and in the implementation of activities, mattered for building trust in communities and among the leadership and for the later impact of their initiatives. Also important were the ways CSOs leveraged their connections to influential actors in villages or at the district level to circumvent obstacles at either level, both for their own organisations and for village women—a process which village women also replicated as we saw in the discussion of collective action above. Building champions among leaders or influential actors across social and political fields played an important role in contributing to improved gender inclusion and women's empowerment. Similarly, building gender awareness and filling gaps in technical knowledge among policymakers at each level in how to build institutional frameworks (policies and regulations) and practical programs was helpful to move agendas forward—some supportive authority figures simply did not have the knowledge about how to best support communities and change policies and practices, so as to ensure they are gender inclusive.

CSOs also engaged in deep work to understand local environments through detailed mapping of the socio-cultural and politico-economic context, and in many cases participatory data collection involved or was driven by village women. As our research sites show, this was instrumental to informing the customised approaches CSOs took in each region to support village women to influence outcomes. These mapping

exercises were also essential for understanding village social networks, and how these could be leveraged to enhance women's collective action via networks.

When power and influence was concentrated among a few influential state and non-state decision-makers and organisations, there were fewer pathways for CSOs and village women to have influence. It was more difficult to influence change if the concerns of village women and CSOs and the desired outcomes did not align with the interests of these powerful actors. This required different CSO approaches to supporting village women to navigate contexts and undertake advocacy efforts to promote gender inclusion and women's empowerment compared to situations where there was greater diversity, not only among political leadership but also in other sources of social and political influence. In those districts that displayed a greater degree of plurality among influential actors and in the structures of power and decision making, there are more varied options for village women and CSOs to advocate for change. Of course, in reality, many districts and villages sit somewhere in between. In using different planned and adaptive strategies to navigate these context dynamics, in most places, the CSOs in this study were able to develop partnerships with other government or non-government organisations, which increased their potential to build support among influential actors for gender inclusion and women's empowerment.

It is important to note that focusing solely on improving the policy and institutional environments for gender inclusion is insufficient alone to produce lasting change on the ground. Many of the aforementioned strategies were effective because they were accompanied by on-the-ground initiatives to support village women, provide concrete benefits and grow wider support for gender inclusion at the grassroots alongside support in policy arenas. This provided impetus for CSOs and influential actors to prioritise policies, funding and programs that were grounded in new initiatives and had demonstrable outcomes. A new policy or regulation does not immediately translate to impacts for women. This is especially so for those regulations or policies that seek to change deeply embedded power structures and patterns of resource allocation so as to be more inclusive of women. Influential actors and authority figures are adept at navigating institutional rules and adhering to the letter rather than the spirit of the law. Thus, real change is produced through a multi-dimensional process that requires CSOs, women themselves, the broader community and village and/or district leadership to collectively contribute to women's empowerment agendas, and commit to improving women's welfare.

Section 8: Outcomes - Women's empowerment and the Village Law

Finally, in Section 8 we integrated the dimensions of analysis to explain how women's individual and collective action influenced the implementation of the Village Law. We also demonstrated the wider empowerment effects for women evident in the research 'intervention' sites and the changes evident in context dynamics—each site evolved to be more conducive to gender inclusion and women's influence over time. Some combination of changes—in Village Regulations, budget allocations, and social norms–occurred through the research 'intervention' sites, in both conducive and challenging contexts, and to a greater degree than in 'control' sites where there were few changes and only one example of women's influence on a village-funded project. In most cases, in the intervention sites, even in places more resistant to gender inclusion and empowerment agendas, changes were evident in the regulatory frameworks in districts and villages, which have implications for some if not all dimensions of gender roles, rights, responsibilities and representation (or the 4Rs). This resulted from village women, and often supporting CSOs, working closely with government and other influential actors to develop these frameworks. Village budgets have also been

allocated to support activities proposed by women's groups—albeit to varying degrees and not uniformly across research villages.

As is evident from the discussion above, the time needed to see real change on the ground in women's empowerment is significant, requiring the dual imperatives of undertaking advocacy and concrete initiatives at both village and district levels. This is bolstered by national level partnerships and advocacy with government and mass social organisations to improve underlying institutional contexts. Subnationally, in conducive contexts, changes begin to become apparent after three to four years of empowerment initiatives, depending on the sectoral focus and scale of the endeavour. Larger scale initiatives, for example focused on livelihoods or social protection for the poorest of poor women in subnational regions require anywhere between four to six years for both institutional change, program or service roll out, evaluation and fine-tuning of pilots and implementation at scale.

In the most difficult contexts, particularly at the village level, even small-scale initiatives require longer and deeper investments—sequenced village-level change in one or two aspects may be evident after three to four years of such investments. However, policy and institutional change in more difficult contexts takes much longer, particularly on issues that traverse cultural taboos, or broader cross-cutting initiatives that interact with or seek to change deep intractable power structures that tend to exclude women. Change tends to have occurred when targeting social norms has been accompanied by other broader development activities in villages (in difficult contexts it would be likely that a program focused solely on social norms would be ignored or rejected).

Similarly, initiatives that tackle cultural taboos such as domestic violence and women's reproductive health, regardless of the context, require significant time frames—village level changes may be evident in four to five years, often with deep support. This is longer for programs at scale: district level institutional change may take five to ten years with the collective involvement of women's groups, multiple CSOs, government champions and other agencies and organisations. We have started to see such changes in the Pangkajene and Islands District after many years of investments and support, and the process is ongoing. Other difficult district contexts in the study have not had the depth of attention and investments from a multitude of actors and programs. While there has certainly been significant progress in these areas, particularly at the village level, changes in the institutional environment have only begun to take place at the district level.

Equally, women's collective action and influence over time can be bolstered or constrained by ruptures in the external politico-economic environment. Such ruptures can shut down or open up spaces to advance or entrench gender inclusion or a women's empowerment agenda. Changes in village and district leadership during elections, or the overwhelming disruptions that occur with natural disasters are just two examples. We have found that even when the tenets of gender inclusion begin to surface over the short term of a few years, it cannot be assumed that they are sufficiently strong to resist these ruptures. Thus, women's journeys are not always upwardly linear and progressive. For example, new leaders may seek to shut down women's participation in decision-making forums or close off funding for initiatives that received prior support, particularly in less conducive contexts.

Progress made to influence village and district contexts does not always move at the same speed or in the same direction due to context dynamics, particularly at critical junctures, even if similar degrees of support and types of initiatives are provided in different regions. This study also clearly finds that the work of changing social norms and attitudes towards women's roles, rights, and to reduce restrictive and sometimes dangerous practices towards women, is slower and more incremental in places where gender inclusion and

social conventions are significantly different to the values espoused in CSO empowerment agendas. This includes places where village decisions are made by the same sets of influential actors over time and where women are less likely to already occupy influential leadership positions. In these places there are few norms that support gender-inclusive decision making in public forums, and social norms often confine women to domestic roles or at best to both domestic and income-generating roles.

In some places, districts have started to see the benefits of CSO gender inclusion and empowerment programs in villages and sought to scale up these initiatives to other places, in collaboration and coordination with CSOs. The quality in the scale-up of these initiatives, however, is contingent on how well district governments draw from CSO approaches and invest in initiatives in ways that replicate the often slow, grassroots work that is customised to each context so as to build trust in communities. This includes deep initial work to understand the social, and politico-economic contexts, collaborate with grassroots groups on understanding key needs and challenges, and provide appropriate resourcing and timelines. It is also important that skilled staff support the initiatives throughout, protect vulnerable women and help women to overcome obstacles that arise.

Overall, we have described how CSOs are highly adaptive in responding to the contrasting contexts that they work in. Even in highly resistant contexts, with unsympathetic leadership, it is possible for CSOs and grassroots women's groups to collectively act to make tangible change in women's empowerment more widely and collectively influence the Village Law. But gender awareness, strategic policy design and significant on-the-ground support (both by CSOs and other authoritative facilitators responsible for programs and services) is required to ensure spaces are opened up for women to both participate and actually exercise voice and influence, especially where this is not the norm. According to the Sentinel Villages study, research by Syukri et al. (2017, 2018) and by Kushandajani and Alfirdaus (2019), this is indeed yet to be the norm. While new regulations released by the Ministry of Villages at the end of 2019 may incentivise an opening up of these spaces through new rules and priorities, the evidence in this study suggests that on-the-ground support is needed to ensure these changes are taken up in spirit by village leaders. Further, incentivising and encouraging participation is important as is bolstering the capacity and confidence to (collectively) exercise voice and influence.

9.2 Applications

Overall, this study has found that understanding variation in district and village contexts and adapting to context dynamics was crucial for supporting women in rural areas to exercise voice, in overcoming constraints, and in harnessing the opportunities for improving women's well-being. This is an important finding for large-scale development programs, CSOs that operate at scale and in multiple regions, and for national policy frameworks and programs that seek to have impacts on the ground across the archipelago. This too ultimately has implications for the ways and extent to which women's collective action—both in grassroots formal and informal collective action, and in structured forms of CSO collective action through advocacy and shaping the institutional environment, influences the implementation of the Village Law.

On supporting women to grow skills, networks, capacities, and influence at the grassroots level

1. Working with and through CSOs as *partners* can help build gender inclusiveness, reduce inequalities and facilitate women's *networked* collective influence, particularly for the most vulnerable women.

- ***CSOs focused on gender inclusion that build trust with and support rural village women can play an important role in opening up more opportunities*** for, and in facilitating, multiple forms of village women's collective action. This includes women's networked collective action with others in rural areas in Indonesia, in which CSOs can help women connect to other actors and support them (especially vulnerable women) to manage risks as they embark on processes of change that inevitably challenge power structures. In those study areas that did not have long-term and active involvement of trusted CSOs, the study found it was more challenging for women to work collectively to bring about either formal or informal changes. There was little endogenous change already occurring in relation to women's collective action. Other programs and structures of support (such as networks of trusted facilitators) that display similar features to those of CSOs described in this research may also play a similar role, but this would require further research and investigation as to whether such structures are easily captured by the authority figures or processes that tend to marginalise women.
- ***Both village women and CSOs are highly adaptive and resourceful*** in responding to variable context constraints and opportunities. Even in highly resistant contexts, with unsympathetic leadership, it is possible for grassroots women's groups to collectively act to create tangible change under the Village Law and in broader gender inclusion. CSO support helps this process.
- ***Facilitating gender awareness*** (for women but also in the community), strategic policy design and significant on-the-ground support (both by CSOs and other authoritative facilitators responsible for programs and services) helps ensure spaces are opened up for women, particularly more marginalised women, to both participate and actually exercise voice and influence in practice, especially if this is not the norm. This does not mean all CSOs or other agencies should take the same approach—choices need to be made appropriate to the context dynamics, sectoral agenda, whether this might traverse cultural taboos, resource availability, existing networks, groups, relationships, and champions, with each having its strengths and drawbacks.
- ***Supporting CSOs as partners*** in ways that allow them to expand their work and facilitate their support for village women allows them to develop approaches that are context adaptive, relevant to the sectoral issue at hand, and sensitive to the risks for and context-specific needs of women, particularly those who are most excluded or vulnerable. Similar flexibility would be needed in other structures of support for village women that don't work with and through CSOs as the risks for village women remain. CSOs tend to fill important knowledge, capacity and service gaps for policy makers who might be willing but unsure about how to go about instituting change so as to be more inclusive of women. This is often an important component of accessing and building trust in villages. While adaptable and resourceful, CSOs need funding for this work.

2. Gender inclusion initiatives that seek to grow grassroots skills, knowledge and rural women's influence should be introduced in carefully sequenced and supported ways, especially in the most difficult contexts.

- Focusing on improving the regulatory environment and supporting on-the-ground initiatives that enhance both women's concrete skills and broader knowledge and capacities, particularly for participation in decision-making forums, helps to increase gender inclusiveness.

- Focusing on policy and institutional environments alone is insufficient to produce lasting change on the ground—analysis found many of the policy-focused strategies were effective because they were grounded in concrete, village-level benefits for women.
- Women's influence is enhanced through programs supporting the development of practical skills and opportunities—e.g. economic, livelihood, parenting and health, and literacy skills.
- Enhancing women's knowledge is also crucial, particularly sectoral knowledge, gender awareness, understanding of government administrative processes, and confidence in public speaking, negotiation, community outreach and leadership.
- Careful sequencing of grassroots support to women in different contexts is important so as to increase the likelihood of access and impact.
- Leveraging existing social networks for access and support helps with this process, as does aligning activities with the needs and priorities of the village where possible (or framing interventions as such) and supporting activities that have an economic focus in the most difficult contexts to build trust.

3. Ensuring diverse, inclusive membership of women from different backgrounds in women's groups and stakeholder forums bolsters wider gender inclusion.

- In difficult contexts, drawing from existing groups at the onset of programs through social activities helps to establish a core membership of women's groups (and overcomes barriers to village access), but does not ensure diversity of membership of elite and non-elite women from different backgrounds.
- There are advantages to also supporting new women's groups or informal spaces, as they create safe spaces for women outside of usual social dynamics.
- Multi-stakeholder forums and groups can be a complementary structure to women's groups and informal spaces for effectively lobbying decision makers, but should be complemented by other safe, exclusive spaces for women.
- Crucial in this process is finding and building support from champions that become integrated in women's networks for collective action.
- Formally recognising women's groups in regulatory structures gives groups legitimacy, helping ensure women are invited to and included in decision-making structures.

On adapting support for gender inclusion to varied subnational contexts and sectors

4. Tailoring policy-based interventions and development support to accommodate context and sectoral/ thematic differences helps increase the likelihood of achieving gender inclusive outcomes.

The challenges that rural women face and the barriers to gender inclusion are diverse. In seeking to address inequalities and tackle poverty, tailoring support to accommodate different and emerging context or sectoral-specific constraints is essential in supporting women to navigate the constraints they will likely face. For example, women who are migrant workers are embedded in international networks and require different kinds of support to homeworkers. At times this may mean directly addressing sensitive issues, at other times and in other contexts it may require more indirect approaches that effectively engage with decision makers who are often male.

5. Customising support for women, investments, timeframes, and monitoring and evaluation metrics to be relevant to and vary according to context features helps minimise risks and to establish achievable goals.

In more conducive contexts, smaller investments in development programs or policy initiatives may be able to yield more rapid outcomes but will unlikely reflect the challenges, time and investment needed to support women in more difficult environments. Customising support for women, timeframes for progress, and monitoring and evaluation metrics to be relevant to the contexts in which initiatives take place will help tailor support for gender inclusion and ensure outcomes are both achieved and the risks for women are minimised. Plan for slow and incremental change in difficult contexts and on difficult and sensitive issues.

6. Supporting gender inclusion initiatives for longer time frames in difficult contexts makes achieving gender inclusiveness more likely.

The study reveals opportunities and challenges for government and non-government development programs in contexts that are not conducive to women's empowerment. These differences in progress in highly difficult contexts highlight that development partners should invest in long-term support to programs that develop foundations of trust in communities and provide external protections for women as they encounter significant resistance.

In difficult contexts, agencies should also focus on fewer villages and use heavier investments at the village level based on network and social mapping with community members. This more intensive investment should also involve embedding CSO staff (or other community support and facilitation staff) in villages. By living in or nearby villages, staff can frequently engage with women and support them to navigate context constraints.

7. Working concurrently at district and village levels (bolstered with national-level advocacy) is critical for gender inclusive development in rural areas, particularly under the Village Law.

It was also clear from the study that gender inclusion achievements are made by concurrently undertaking advocacy and policy support at district levels, while also embedding institutional change in on-the-ground village initiatives that provide concrete benefits for women. There were a number of examples where progress at district level propelled women's influence and voice at the village level, or vice versa, where progress at the village level supported higher level shifts.

Working at both levels broadens the support for—and reinforces—changes in the institutional environment. This builds resilience to ruptures and setbacks, deepening the sustainability of empowerment initiatives. It was evident in the study that working at both levels also increases the likelihood that the impacts of gender inclusion initiatives will increase over time, as broader advocacy becomes embedded through concrete activities on the ground with women. Women are then able to increasingly exercise voice and influence but also be involved in the broader advancement of gender inclusion in Indonesia. This is bolstered by national level partnerships and advocacy with government and mass social organisations to improve underlying institutional contexts.

8. Developing rules and policies, forums, and women's spaces in governance structures/programs that incentivise inclusiveness for women helps motivate resistant actors.

The study identified how important rules (regulations, policy, implementing guidelines) and resources (human and financial) were for helping policy makers to support women's empowerment. While formal rules are a necessary and important component of increased women's influence on the implementation of the

Village Law, they are not in themselves sufficient for reducing inequalities and improving gender inclusiveness—this also entailed supporting women to have influence in power structures and decision-making processes.

- Rules in particular motivate authoritative actors and power holders who are resistant to support inclusive development and an increased role for women in decision making, although other studies have shown that 'workarounds' can result.
- Rules and regulations, nonetheless, help ensure that advancements did not easily regress with changes in leaders and other authoritative figures at different levels.
- Facilitation for communities on how to go about improving the inclusion of women in decision-making helps fill capacity and knowledge gaps.
- Formally recognising women's groups, and creating specified women's spaces in development decision making (such as Women's MusDes or Musrenbangdes), and rules to ensure inclusion in final decision-making will go some way to countering the resistance that village women face.

It will be important to monitor the progress of the recent 2019 Ministry of Villages Regulation, which broadens the scope of Village Fund uses to a number of themes that women have tended to prioritise when they have managed to access the fund. Oversight and accountability will be important in this process, as will be investing in community facilitation to improve inclusive decision-making.

On the COVID-19 response

9. Maximise opportunities for women to influence use of Village Fund in COVID-19 responses.

It is now widely recognised around the world, that the COVID-19 pandemic is impacting on women and men differently (Haneef & Kalyanpur, 2020). This occurs across areas of health, social and economic wellbeing, and women's participation. Women face high health risks as they make up 70% of all health and social services staff around the world (Linde & González Laya, 2020), and 67% of health and services staff in Indonesia (Prospera 2019, cited in MAMPU, May 2020).

There is also the potential indirect health crisis as resources are diverted away from usual maternal and women's health services, something that was documented during the Ebola crisis (Sochas, Channon, Nam & Counting, 2017). Women are also disproportionately impacted by care giving responsibilities during the crisis, with women around the world performing three times more unpaid caregiving than men (ILO, 2018). Domestic violence has increased in some middle-income contexts (Mutavati, Zaman, & Olajide, 2020), as it did during the Ebola crisis (Onyango, 2020). As women are more likely to be in informal and vulnerable employment, the negative economic impact of COVID-19 responses will likely disproportionately affect women. Further, in crisis, women and girls are often excluded from grassroots decision-making forums which further weakens women's participation in responses.

The COVID-19 response in Indonesia

The Government of Indonesia has initiated a number of innovative responses to the COVID-19 crisis. These are across several sectors including health, industry support, social safety nets (including basic food assistance and cash assistance) and economic recovery programs. International and United Nations agencies have also initiated a number of responses. The World Bank, Asian Development Bank and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank have approved financing and loans for the Government of Indonesia to

respond to COVID-19. Several United Nations agencies in Indonesia, including WHO, UNICEF and UNDP have developed action plans related to the COVID-19 response with UN Women in particular supporting women and girls leading and participating in COVID-19 response planning and decision-making from local to national levels. Many bilateral donors, including Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade have redirected support toward the COVID-19 response.

The Village Law and the COVID-19 response

Of most interest in this policy brief is the use of the Village Fund (*dana desa*) in the COVID-19 response. The Minister of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration Regulation No. 6/2020 (enacted on 13 April) specifically allows for Indonesian villages to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic using the Village Fund. Under the new regulation, the Village Fund can be used for a wide range of COVID-19 response activities, such as the maintenance of neighbourhood facilities, including rehabilitation facilities to isolate COVID-19 victims, personal protective equipment, neighbourhood cleaning and other activities to prevent the spread of the virus, including provision of information and training.

The regulation also allows for the Village Fund to be used for direct cash transfers (BLT-Dana Desa) for those losing their livelihoods, those excluded from other social protection programs and those who have family members with chronic illnesses, requiring three people to verify that recipients are indeed poor and have not been included in other programs. Decisions on village responses under the Law are within the authority of the village government and decided through *musyawarah desa* (MusDes, village consultative forums).

The regulation provides scope for the establishment of COVID-19 Village Volunteer Teams (or what is known as the village COVID-19 Taskforces), headed by the Village Head and with members from various village organisations, local public figures and authorities. The regulation does not specify requirements for general women's participation in these taskforces, nevertheless the team structure includes volunteers from village facilitators, village midwives, and the Family Welfare and Empowerment organisation (PKK), which are often women-led but do not necessarily represent women's diversity and needs. Village COVID-19 Taskforces are central to decision making on who receives cash transfers.

Lessons from this study for the COVID-19 response

Learning from this study of Women's Collective Action and the Village Law, the COVID-19 crisis represents a rupture in the status quo of women's participation in grassroots decision making around the Village Law. This presents both opportunities and threats for women's voice and influence. The women's organisations involved in this study report that in areas where significant community organising had already taken place through women's groups, unions, networks, informal spaces and support for women, women in many instances were the first to move in the COVID-19 response in communities. In these places, women have often taken on leadership roles in the COVID-19 response while also managing the challenges for themselves and their families brought on by the crisis. It is timely for agencies to further support the organisations that have helped position these women to move quickly.

Some groups are also particularly vulnerable. Partner organisations in this study report that this is particularly the case for returned migrant workers, female-headed families who often experience the highest levels of impoverishment and are not well captured in other social protection initiatives, homeworkers (as the factories and businesses they supply shut down), and for women creating livelihoods in the informal sector, among others.

In some areas where homeworkers and other women were already organised based on prior CSO support, homeworkers in villages have quickly developed their own small businesses, providing, for example, creatively decorated personal protective equipment such as material face masks, which are in high demand. Female-headed families have managed to be reached in the cash transfer program mentioned above, again particularly in areas where such women were members of groups.[18] Other regions could learn from these experiences of the importance of community organising through women's groups of different kinds. Applying the findings of this study to the current context of responses to COVID-19, there are specific ways in which government and non-government agencies can support women to maximise opportunities for participation in Village Fund decision making.

- **Working with CSOs focused on gender inclusion as partners, or other agencies, organisations and sets of actors (such as facilitators) that are trusted by and support local women, is important to counter possible gender exclusion.** Many CSOs have already been actively supporting women to take on leadership roles in COVID-19 responses and to give additional support to the most vulnerable groups. This study has highlighted the importance of CSO or other actors that are trusted by women in facilitating an increase in the decision-making power of women and women's groups. While the COVID-19 response presents significant challenges to the usual operation of CSOs, they are highly adaptive; it is crucial that CSOs continue to be resourced in their work on women's collective action and influence.

- **Continued support for wide-reaching, cross-cutting gender inclusion and development initiatives can augment the impacts of the COVID-19 response.** Partner organisations for this study have identified the risks of pivoting all support from development partners for CSOs and other development initiatives to the COVID-19 response. Some of the organisations working in critical healthcare and education, reproductive health education, community organising, skills development and education of the most vulnerable women have reported that these groups are particularly vulnerable to the health risks and other pandemic affects, but funding for their wider programs has been reduced or cancelled, leaving swathes of women at greater risk. There are benefits for both wider development and the COVID-19 response by continuing to support wider-reaching, cross-cutting gender inclusion and development initiatives.

10. Design risk mitigation strategies for the unintended consequences of the COVID-19 response itself.

Women's representation in decision making in COVID-19 responses is critical. While some areas have a prior history of women's groups that have diverse, skilled, vocal and influential women, this is not uniformly the case across Indonesia, with many areas reflecting the features of the 'control' research sites in which women have long been excluded from development decision making and priorities. In these areas there is a greater likelihood that such women be underrepresented in COVID-19 responses, Village Fund allocations, and in the village-level Taskforces coordinating the response. Learning from the experience of this study, even those women-led organisations that have been represented on village Taskforces may not have diverse female membership.

The role of MusDes and COVID-19 Village Volunteer Teams is crucial in Village Fund decision making in response to COVID-19, and yet to date, there have been no specific guidelines about women's involvement. Gender inclusion can be bolstered by:

[18] The Minster for Villages, Transmigration and Disadvantaged Areas Development announced to the national parliament at the end of June 2020 that 27% of the cash transfers made to date had been to female-headed families.

- **Shifting the guidelines and maximising women's participation in these forums**, especially considering the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on women (e.g. increased risk of domestic violence, loss of income, and greater burden of care).

- **Higher gender representation on village and other Taskforces.** This would help ensure women's needs are taken into account in the response, any unintentional risks emerging from the response itself are identified, and give women the opportunity to provide inputs on how to mitigate these risks. This includes the risks for women responsible for sustaining households (e.g. through visiting village markets), supporting ill family members, and who need to undertake other activities that may increase their encounters with community security and monitoring posts set up or strengthened by the COVID-19 response.

For many women such encounters can be frightening and negative. Higher gender representation on Taskforces will help plan for risks and to develop tailored responses, especially regarding any increases in household tensions arising with stay-at-home orders.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1: The Village Law Features, Regulations and Oversight

Design

The design, ratification and implementation of the 2014 Village Law was not a simple process and has been influenced by a range of factors both within and outside of government. The content of the Law was significantly shaped by civil society activist interventions. For example, in 2006, members of the organisation Parade Nusantara convened a discussion forum in Semarang, which included proposing improvements for village governance and government officials to members of Indonesia's national parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR) (Vel et al., 2017). During the same period (2006 - July 2007), the Ministry of Home Affairs conducted research on village governance reform in collaboration with CSOs and international development organisations. In 2010, efforts to advance the drafting of the Village Law led by newly-elected member of the national parliament, Budiman Sudjatmitko, saw it included as a priority in on national legislative agenda (Prolegnas).[19] In December 2013, the national parliament passed the legislation, which was then ratified by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in January 2014 (Vel et al., 2017).

Ministerial authority and oversight

Following the ratification of the 2014 Law, three ministries—the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, and the newly-created Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Regions Development and Transmigration (herein the Ministry of Villages)—each issued regulations regarding the implementation of the Village Law, including the accompanying budgets, which some argued overlapped and had contradictory stipulations (Vel et al., 2017, 465) or slowed the 2014 Law's implementation (Antlov et al., 2017, 180). A key provision was the creation of a 'Village Fund' (Dana Desa), to which the national government contributes 10% of regional transfer funds. Villages also receive district funding through the village budget allocation (ADD) to the amount of at least 10% of the national transfers to districts (Law No. 6, 2014) (Antlov et al., 2017, 174). These funds are to be transferred annually to Indonesia's 75,000 villages to be used in accordance with locally-determined priorities. Vel et al. (2017) contend that the key issues requiring clarification across the regulations of the day were: how funds would be managed and distributed between levels of government; the management of village-owned enterprises; the use of the Village Fund; and accountability measures.[20]

Consequently, in a January 2015 cabinet meeting, President Joko Widodo instructed that the implementation of the 2014 Village Law and village governance would be divided between the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Villages. Thereafter, administrative matters relating to oversight of civil service employment, that being oversight of village officials receiving civil servant salaries—such as the Village Head and village administration, and the management of Village Consultative Council (Badan Permusyarawatan Desa, BPD members)—would continue to be performed by the Ministry of Home Affairs' Directorate General for Improving Village Governance (Bina Pemerintahan Desa). The newly-created Ministry for Villages was charged with coordinating, supervising, and empowering village development programs, including through

[19] A Special Committee was convened to draft the law from 2012-2013 which included reform activists, Budiman Sudjatmitko as deputy, and Sutoro Eko and R. Yando Zakaria.

[20] Initial attempts to implement the law in 2014 included: a Ministry of Home Affairs Draft Regulation (No.43) designating villages as either a village or a customary village, and the Ministry of Finance began to regulate the administration of the Village Fund, which limited village autonomy by making villages accountable to the Ministry of Finance via the district (See Vel et al., 2017, 464).

the BPD, under a new directorate general. The division of responsibilities was formalised by Government Regulation No. 47/2015 and the deletion of Clause 14 of Article 1 of Government Regulation No. 43/ 2014, which had previously defined 'minister' as 'the minister who handles villages' so as to not specify either ministry.

District authority: There continues to be ongoing debate about the extent to which districts have oversight authority for villages. The Ministry of Home Affairs has conceptualised villages as a part of government organisational structures and hierarchies, while at the same time being considered autonomous. The Ministry of Villages envisages the village as an autonomous government unit, not under the authority of districts (Syukri et al., 2017, 14-15). Whereas Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 84/2015, for instance, re-emphasises the role of district and central government supervision of village budget and development plans.[21] These interpretations inform ongoing legal challenges to the division of authority to implement village development plans and for villages to decide to discontinue existing programs or fund new initiatives (World Bank, 2017, 3).

Meanwhile, districts continue to conceptualise villages as existing below subdistricts in a government hierarchy and chain of responsibility. Districts tend to take this view as, under the Village Law, they are obliged to contribute 10 percent of their own produced revenues, revenue sharing grants and transfers to village budgets (Lewis, 2015a; Lewis, 2015b). As well as undertaking the supervisory role stipulated by the Village Law, it is within the interests of districts to retain control of, or influence service provision at the village level, particularly to fulfil their key performance indicators under decentralisation, which is a major portfolio administered by the Ministry of Home Affairs (Lewis 2015a, 350). Further, in February 2019, Government Regulation No. 11/ 2019, sought to improve the quality of village services and governance, including secretaries and other public servants. Accordingly, the wages of Village Heads, Village Secretaries and other officials would be set by the District Head or Mayor (Bupati/Wali Kota).

Village-level decision making, rights of participation and village support

Notably, there continues to be some differences in how each Ministry seeks to implement the 2014 Law, especially in relation to who convenes village decision-making meetings and who can participate in these meetings.

Convening village meetings: The Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 114/2015 states that there are two types of village consultative and deliberation meetings—MusDes convened by the BPD and a Village Development Planning Consultative Meeting (Musrenbangdes) held by the Village Head. In contrast, Ministry of Villages Regulation No. 2/2015 released that same year, specifies that all village meetings should be convened and organised by the BPD.

Meeting participants: According to Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation No. 114/2015, community participation in village consultative meetings is only permitted if an individual has received official invitation from the BPD and if the individual has registered with the Council. This regulation also stipulates that registered participants/voters have the right to participate in the formulation of village budgets and

[21] 2014 Village Law (Chapter XIV, Article 12) stipulates that central, provincial and district government would 'guide and supervise' the implementation of village governance. In contrast, Article 13 of the Ministry of Home Affairs' 2015 Regulation No. 84/2015 extended this authority, stating that 'the Minister, Government, District Head/Mayor and Subdistrict Head are obliged to undertake guidance and supervision of village governments in the implementation of tasks and functions in coherence with the provisions of legislation.'

development plans. Meanwhile, Ministry of Villages Regulation No. 2/2015 stipulates all villagers have the right to attend these 'open and not secretive' events by registering with the head of the BPD seven days prior to a MusDes (Article 23). While also maintaining the importance of being invited, invitees, according to (Paragraph 7, Article 20), are 'they who are not village residents who attend the village consultative meeting upon the invitation of the head of the BPD'. Moreover, villagers who attend but have not registered prior to the meeting retain their right to attend the MusDes, however cannot cast votes. Therefore, on the one hand, Ministry of Home Affairs regulation requires individuals to receive an invitation to attend MusDes whilst, on the other, Ministry of Villages regulation requires registration in order to attend and cast votes but not an invitation to attend. These overlapping regulations reflect differing conceptualisations of authority that have been reported to cause confusion in villages (Syukri et al., 2018, 29).

Support for villages: In order to implement their empowerment and village capacity-building portfolio, in its division of responsibilities with Home Affairs, the Ministry of Villages has prioritised the employment of village assistants (*pendamping desa*). These assistants function under the Ministry of Villages and work to empower villagers and village governments to form and implement their development plans and to increase employment and investment opportunities in a village. The role of these assistants was initially defined by the Village Law as also having the right to attend village consultative forums. Under subsequent regulations and policies issued by the Ministry of Villages, they represent the link between central government and the community, facilitate village meetings and participative development, and increase social solidarity. By the end of 2016, 27,441 village assistants had been recruited (Zakaria & Vel 2017). This number has rapidly increased. According to the 2018 national Village Potential Statistics report, 66,128 people were classified as 'active' and 'available' village assistants (BPS-Statistics Indonesia 2018, 165). The Ministry of Villages reports there to be approximately 75,000 village assistants currently working.[22] However, in many field sites it was evident that the focus of these assistants has been to provide administrative support to the village government, and their empowerment function of providing support to communities was less evident.

Learning from implementation lessons over time, two important new regulations were issued by the Ministry of Villages about the implementation of the Village Law in late 2019. These regulations were introduced subsequent to the data collection for this study and, as such, this study forms a mid-point investigation into the ways civil society to date has influenced the implementation of the Village Law, but also forms a baseline for future studies that investigate how these regulations have addressed earlier critiques of the implementation of the Village Law, particularly in relation to attention to gender inclusion and women's influence on village development under the new Law.

First, in September, the Ministry of Villages specified the use of the 2020 Village Fund allocation through Regulation No. 11/2019. This regulation significantly emphasised the provision of social services to village communities (often a priority for women), defined as the procurement, construction, and development of facilities and infrastructure to meet residential, transportation, energy, communication, information and other social needs (Article 8). Accordingly, Village Fund use should prioritise programs and activities which 'must give the greatest possible benefit to the village community.' Particular priorities include: the creation of ongoing employment, increasing livelihood options for poor families (Article 6.2); updating data collection on poverty, providing capital and training to the unemployed, and the prevention of stunting and

[22] Facilitators are issued with accreditation certificates by a sub-agency of the Ministry of Villages; in August 2019, Open University Indonesia began to 'mentor' village facilitators through online courses, https://news.okezone.com/read/2019/08/30/65/2098787/ut-siap-mentori-40-ribu-pendamping-desa.

malnutrition (Article 6.3); and home industry and small-scale agriculture. In terms of implementation, the regulation also **states that Village Fund spending priorities will be decided in a participative and self-managed way through the formulation of the Village Government Work Plan** (Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Desa, RKPDesa) in an annual MusDes (Article 14). The outcome of village consultative meetings must be published by the village government in a publicly accessible space, provisions reflected in the draft guidelines outlined in Box 37.

Second, in October, in Regulation No. 17/2019 the Ministry of Villages issued general directives on village community development and empowerment. Importantly, for civil society participation in village planning, the Regulation also clarifies who are *unsur masyarakat*, or 'village community elements' and their role. Article 9 states that these *unsur masyarakat* individuals and groups participate in all stages of village development planning, express suggestions and opinions, organise for individual and collective interests, support development activities, and develop community values. Notably, in the second section concerning Village Medium-Term Development Plans, the regulation specifies that 'community elements' include: women's organisations and groups, forums for the protection and care of children, health cadres, representatives of special needs and the disabled, representatives of poor communities, farmers and fishing groups, craft groups, young people and student groups, environmental activists, and other social organisations (Article 13). These groups, including women's groups, are also identified as the actors who implement village empowerment programs and activities (Article 75), including education, and undertake village participation, resilience and cooperation strengthening, upholding of rights, and policy advocacy (Article 76). Box 37 outlines the draft guidelines for integrating gender concerns to village development planning and implementation.

Box 37: The 2019 Draft Guidelines for Village Gender Integration at the Village-Level in Village Medium-Term Development Plans, Work Plans and Budgets

These draft guidelines have been formulated by Misbah Hasan from the Ministry of Villages as a guide for village governments. Divided into steps and template documents, it is envisaged these guidelines will assist village governments in better gender-responsive planning (understood as processes and outcomes which 'considers aspirations, needs, and problems which are different between men and women'); and, gender-responsive budgeting, in which village resources are allocated to 'increase gender equality, women's empowerment, the protection of children, and fulfilling the needs of persons with disabilities and other vulnerable groups.'

Reflecting this study's focus on relationships between districts and villages, these guidelines specify how to align village and district gender inclusive and responsive policy priorities, particularly how village programs should implement district policies. For instance, the guidelines suggest that villages should record data about poor female-headed families, the elderly, and people with disabilities, to better ensure the implementation of social protection programs (such as Conditional Cash Transfers Programs - Program Keluarga Harapan, and rice welfare - *Beras Kesejahteraan*). The main mechanism outlined in these guidelines is a step-by-step guide for creating a report on village social and economic conditions, which includes conducting two types of consultative forums (*musyawarah*), one hamlet-level forum and one with groups based on employment, gender, age, and disability.

Annex 2: MAMPU's Empowerment Framework.

Empowerment is conceptualised in the MAMPU empowerment framework as positive change in relation to what are conceptualised as five types of 'assets' that help build choices for women (See Box 38).

Box 38: MAMPU's Empowerment Framework

1. **Individual or human assets**: that is, personal health and education, skills and knowledge (literacy, numeracy) and individual self-belief and confidence;
2. **Financial and resource assets**: that is, income and savings, the ability to borrow, to have access to markets, increased productive inputs including tools and consumables;
3. **Agency assets**: that is, participation and influence both in the family and community, better access to work, services and social protection;
4. **Social assets**: that is, friends, relatives, social networks, group membership, as well as having access to people of influence;
5. **Enabling assets**: that is, access to administrative or legal documents, legal protection, as well as access to transport and infrastructure.

(Source: MAMPU, 2017, vii)

Whilst this framework is not precisely the same as that of Kabeer's (described in Section 2) widely used conceptualisation of empowerment, a number of aspects are similar. The focus on human assets, financial and resource assets, and social assets resonate with Kabeer's emphasis on the importance of establishing the 'material, human and social resources', or pre-conditions for empowerment processes and other dimensions of empowerment such as exercising agency (identified as agency assets in the MAMPU framework). For example, confidence and self-belief (human assets) are a precursor for women's increased participation in community decision making (agency assets) and, in turn, this may translate into finances or other resources (enabling assets) (MAMPU, 2017).

As with other women's empowerment frameworks, the boundary between individual and collective empowerment is not always clear-cut in the MAMPU framework. For some activities, for example savings and loans groups, the collective nature is obvious; however, for other activities the benefits appear to be particularly relevant for individuals only, although through shared group experiences in strengthening such agency it is likely collective agency will result. The Partner CSOs in the MAMPU program deliberately seek to build women's empowerment through a wide range of activities, including the establishment of new women's groups—this is a philosophy that underpins much of the design of the program in which Partner CSOs have been deeply involved. The establishment of these groups is crucial as they form a basis for further activities such as the training and encouragement of members to engage with village and district leaders, as well as promoting women's participation in decision making.

Annex 3: Research Sites and MAMPU Partners

MAMPU National CSO Partners

Organisation	Structure	MAMPU Theme	Description and Aims	Active with MAMPU support in (at end 2019):	Research Region
'Aisyiyah	Multi-Level Branch	Improving women's health and nutrition	'Aisyiyah is an autonomous mass women's organisation originally established in 1917 under Muhammadiyah with a membership base of between 10 and 15 million women across 34 provinces in Indonesia. With MAMPU, 'Aisyiyah formed village-based women's groups called Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA). Through BSA, 'Aisyiyah has developed a service model that includes strengthening women's awareness of cervical cancer and breast cancer and supporting community health clinics (Puskesmas) to respond and treat heath conditions, particularly those related to reproductive health. By the end of 2019, 'Aisyiyah had worked with village women to establish 433 BSA at the grassroots level in 15 districts. The BSA have more than 8,000 members, of which over 1,000 women have been trained as cadres, or village-level organisers who are often members of the organisation that are given additional training to facilitate activities and grow group membership.	West Java, East Java, Central Java, West Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, West Sulawesi	Cirebon, West Java
BaKTI The Eastern Indonesian Knowledge Exchange Foundation Bursa Pengetahuan Kawasan Timur Indonesia	Regional foundation	Reducing violence against women	BaKTI collects data and information on development initiatives in Eastern Indonesia to support local organisations across 12 provinces. With MAMPU, BaKTI formed Constituent Groups (Kelompok Konstituen) to provide space and opportunities for consultation with local parliamentarians through its Participatory Recess (Reses Partisipatif) program. These village groups also undertake advocacy in villages on development issues that members deem important to the village. By the end of 2019, BaKTI had undertaken activities in 85 villages, in 7 districts across 5 provinces with MAMPU support.	NTT, NTB, South Sulawesi, Southeast, Maluku	East Lombok, NTB
BITRA Indonesian Foundation for Rural Capacity Building Bina Keterampilan Pedesaan Indonesia	Branch	Improving conditions of employment and removing workplace discrimination (for women home-based workers)	BITRA organises and supports grassroots collective action on labour issues and conducts policy advocacy and public awareness campaigns in 7 districts in North Sumatra Province, supporting 107 groups and 4510 members. Established in 1986, BITRA has worked with MAMPU since 2014. During this partnership, BITRA has organised Homeworker Groups, trained women on their rights, supported women's livelihoods through credit unions, and undertaken advocacy for the recognition of homeworker rights. By the end of 2019, BITRA had undertaken activities with MAMPU support in 4 districts and 31 villages in North Sumatra Province with 31 groups, more than 1700 women homeworkers, 29 Credit Unions and 6 micro-enterprises.	North Sumatra	Deli Serdang, North Sumatra
FPL (also associated with the Women's Crisis Centre) Forum for Service Providers Forum Pengada Layanan	Network consortium partnership	Reducing violence against women	FPL is a network of frontline service provider organisations that was established in 2001 by Komnas Perempuan to assist women victims of violence. It has 112 member organisations in 32 provinces. With MAMPU, FPL has partnered with other organisations to improve the implementation of the Integrated System for Handling Cases of Violence Against Women. By the end of 2019, 20 member organisations of FPL had undertaken activities with MAMPU support in 15 provinces, 31 districts and 102 villages.	Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Bengkulu, The Riau Archipelago, DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Special Region of Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali, Southeast Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, Maluku, NTT	TTU in NTT with sub-national partner YABIKU, Yayasan Amnaut Bife "Kuan" (Village Women's Care Foundation) Labuhan Batu, North Sumatra with sub-partner Serikat Perempuan Indonesia Independen, Independent Women's Alliance (SPI)
Institut KAPAL Perempuan The Institute for Women's Alternative Education Lingkaran Pendidikan Alternatif Perempuan	National office with subnational partners	Improving women's access to social protection programs	Established in 2000, KAPAL Perempuan initially focused on addressing identity-based conflicts. With MAMPU, KAPAL Perempuan and its subnational partners have supported village women to form Women's Schools (Sekolah Perempuan) in villages to organise women, share knowledge about women's rights and to develop women's leadership skills so that they can more actively participate in personal and public decision making. KAPAL also develops Gender Watch teams to monitor women's access to social protection programs at the village, district and provincial levels. Overall, KAPAL Perempuan works in 6 provinces, and 15 districts. It has supported village women to establish 26 Women's School groups at the village level in MAMPU-supported Program Areas, 55 Women's School groups at the village level in government-supported Replication Areas, 137 Women's School groups at the hamlet level in Program Areas. By the end of 2019, these Schools had 4478 members in Program Areas, 1989 members in Replication Areas, and 220 members of Youth	DKI Jakarta, East Java, South Sulawesi, West Sumatra, NTB, NTT	Gresik, East Java with sub-national partner KPS2K (Women's Groups and Sources of Life Organisation) Pangkajene and Islands, South Sulawesi, with sub-national partner Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation - (YKPM)

			Women's Schools in Pangkep, Gresik, North Lombok and East Lombok.		
Migrant CARE	National office with subnational partners	Improving the conditions for women's overseas labour migration	Migrant CARE has established and built upon local networks to advocate for protection for migrant workers. With MAMPU, Migrant CARE has developed an initiative at the village level called DESBUMI (Villages that Care for Migrant Workers - Desa Peduli Buruh Migran), which has influenced the creation of the DESMIGRATIF (Productive Migrant Villages), a national government scheme which is currently being trialled. By the end of 2019, DESBUMI had been created in 5 provinces, involving 39 groups, 37 villages, 1098 members.	Central Java, East Java, NTB, NTT	Central Lombok with sub-national partner Panca Karsa
PEKKA Female-Headed Families Empowerment Foundation Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga	Multi-Level Branch	Improving women's access to social protection programs	Founded in 2000, PEKKA is a mass-membership organisation which works to politically, economically, and socially empower the female heads of families. By the end of 2019, PEKKA had provided support to village women in 20 provinces, 87 districts, 1384 villages and to 3,000 Pekka groups. At the time this research was complete, there were 33514 active members of Pekka groups, organising some 68850 female heads of families. With MAMPU, PEKKA developed Village Consultation and Information Service (Klinik Layanan Informasi dan Konsultasi, KLIK) to provide information and consultation on social protection programs and identity documents to Pekka members.	Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, Banten, DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Special Region of Yogyakarta, East Java, West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Bali, NTB, West Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, North Maluku, NTT	Bangkalan, East Java Hulu Sungai Utara (HSU), South Kalimantan
PERMAMPU Consortium of Women's Groups in Sumatra Konsorsium Perempuan Sumatra MAMPU	Network consortium partnership	Improving women's health and nutrition	PERMAMPU is a consortium of eight women's organisations in eight provinces and 34 districts, and 224 villages in Sumatra (as at December 2019). The consortium works to influence strategic community leaders—religious leaders, traditional leaders, schools and local governments—to change social and cultural norms that constrain women from accessing sexual and reproductive health services. With MAMPU, PERMAMPU established a grassroots network of women's groups at the village level. These women's groups have aimed to increase members' economic capacity and access to government services.	Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Riau, Jambi, Bengkulu, South Sumatra, Lampung	Tanggamus, Lampung, with local partner, The DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute - Lembaga Advokasi Perempuan
Yasanti	National office	Improving conditions of employment and removing workplace discrimination (for women home-based workers)	Yasanti aims to empower homeworkers through education and advocacy and has been working in Yogyakarta since 1982. With MAMPU, Yasanti supports village women to organise homeworkers into credit union groups and trains women to negotiate with their employers. By the end of 2019, MAMPU had supported Yasanti's support for homeworkers in 2 provinces, 4 districts and 18 villages, working with 99 groups and 2412 women homeworkers.	Central Java, Special Region of Yogyakarta	Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta

CSO Sub-National Partners

Organisation	Research Area	Theme	National Partner
DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute Lembaga Advokasi Perempuan	Tanggamus, Lampung	Reducing violence against women	PERMAMPU
SPI Independent Women's Union Serikat Perempuan Independen	Labuhan Batu, North Sumatra	Reducing violence against women	FPL
YKPM Community Empowerment and Assessment Foundation Yayasan Pengkajian dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat	Pangkajene and Islands, South Sulawesi	Improving women's access to social protection programs	Institut KAPAL Perempuan
KPS2K Women's Groups and Sources of Life Organisation Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan	Gresik, East Java	Improving women's access to social protection programs	Institut KAPAL Perempuan
Panca Karsa The Panca Karsa Association Perkumpulan Panca Karsa	Central Lombok, NTB	Improving the conditions for women's overseas labour migration	Migrant Care
YABIKU Village Women's Care Foundation (Yayasan Amnaut Bife "Kuan")	TTU, NTT	Reducing violence against women	FPL

Annex 4: Data Collection and Analysis Methods

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews took place at both the regency and village levels to gather data about:

- The social, cultural, religious, economic, governance and demographic context of the village and regency,
- Processes for making decisions about village and district development,
- CSO Partner structures, networks, advocacy strategies and activities,
- Support for village women, women's groups and other groups supported by CSO Partners and women's collective action activities, and
- Gender inclusion and women's empowerment.

At the district level, representatives of the following groups of people were invited to be interviewed:

- Relevant district government representatives,
- Other prominent leaders and organisations,
- MAMPU CSO and mass women's organisation partners,
- Other civil society organisations, and
- Other representatives (including KOMPAK in the sites where this dimension was examined).

At the village level, representatives of the following groups of people were invited to be interviewed:

- Village women, particularly vulnerable women,
- Village men, particularly vulnerable men,
- Women involved in groups and collective action initiatives (both those supported by MAMPU CSO Partners but also others),
- MAMPU Partners and other CSO community organisers, cadres and group members,
- Women involved in the local structures of power and influence,
- Village government staff, the Village Head and Village Consultative Council (BPD) members,
- Other local leaders (including customary, ethnic, religious, youth and government leaders in villages), and
- Participants in village deliberation meetings (MusDes) that decide on the use of the Dana Desa.

Targeted interviews for developing case studies of stories of change

Case studies of Stories of Change were developed from the field research that traced the process of if and how women influenced the implementation of the Village Law to meet women's needs in the project sites. These cases studies will be available at www.mampu.or.id (Savirani et al., 2020; see also Diprose et.al., 2020), although even the extended case analysis in these stories do not alone capture the complexity of village dynamics or all the minutia of processes of change. The possibility that women might have influenced the implementation of the Law in different places was established both during the Collaborative Discussion and Study Planning Workshop with MAMPU Partners in January 2019 and in the first interviews conducted in each research village by the research team with residents. In each research site, the research team would identify several examples of change and focus some of their interviews on these stories to collect specific

data about the nature and mechanisms for the identified change. In most project sites, these stories included a range of:

- Formal changes, such as changes in a regulation,
- New programs and Village Fund allocations,
- Tangible changes in women's wellbeing, such as access to health services, and
- Changes in social norms.

Life history interviews

During their time in the villages, the researchers identified village women who were instrumental in leading women's collective efforts to influence change. The researchers conducted repeat interviews with these key women about their life histories to establish how they grew their skills and networks to advocate for changes in their own lives, families and communities as well as what inspired and motivated them. In most research sites, several participants were interviewed for both Story of Change case studies as well as their life histories. Excerpts from these life histories will be available at www.mampu.or.id (Setiawan et al., 2020).

Focus group discussions

In most villages, the researchers conducted at least two focus group discussions: a female-only group (predominantly vulnerable women) and a male-only group, usually of disadvantaged men of 5-8 members each. Occasionally, these groups were organised around existing women's and men's groups.

Observations

The researchers spent most of their field work staying in the villages; quite often in the home of a member of the local women's group. This meant that they were able to observe some of the daily life of people living in the village and this provided opportunities for informal interactions with participants. This data was captured in the researchers' daily diaries.

Observations of MusDes

In some of the villages, the researchers were able to observe MusDes or access notes about who attended, spoke and made decisions, what was discussed and the processes for conducting the meeting were also documented.

Social network maps

Social network maps were created for each village detailing prominent people in the village (particularly in relation to shaping government decision making, social norms, and women's interests), based on research observations and interviews with participants. The maps included the relevant actors for village development, gender inclusion, and women's empowerment and the types of relationships between these actors; whether they were familial, social, organisational, administrative or political or in some cases all of these. The types of actors (and the relationships between them) ranged from those occupying more formal roles such as Village Head, Secretary, village government officials, BPD chair/members, hamlet heads, group and organisational leaders (such as prominent figures in village groups including women's and youth groups and religious/ethnic/other groups). It also included those with other forms of socio-economic and political influence, such as custom and tradition leaders, religious leaders, economic elites, women's leaders and

influencers, and CSO staff. Essentially these maps sought to identify the nature and types of ties between actors seeking to influence village life and power structures.

Secondary data

Wherever possible, the research team collected secondary data from participants at both the village and regency levels. This data included documents and records such as:

- Records of MusDes (attendance lists and minutes).
- Village and district budgets.
- Village and district development strategies.
- Village and District Regulations.
- Village and district profiles.
- Village level government work plans.
- CSO and MAMPU Partner documents.

National level interviews

Several interviews were conducted by the senior researchers in the team to gather data about processes and support for gender inclusion and women's empowerment at the national level as well as to link in with existing research that has been undertaken about women's empowerment in relation to village development in Indonesia. Representatives from the following organisations were included:

- Relevant Government Ministries:
  - National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), and
  - Ministry of Villages, Disadvantaged Areas Development and Transmigration (Kemendes).
- Others conducting research about the Village Law and governance:
  - KOMPAK—Governance for Growth facility,
  - The SMERU Research Institute,
  - World Bank,
  - University of Indonesia,
- MAMPU National Office,
- National-level office representatives of all MAMPU Partner organisations in the study.

Village, district and CSO case profiles

From the raw data, we also compiled case analysis summaries of village contexts and district contexts, which underpin much of the analysis in Section 3, and of CSO approaches and strategies which underpin much of the analysis in Sections 6 and 7 together with the analysis of trajectories of processes of change developed in cases of village Stories of Change that is thread through Sections 3-8.

Multiple types of comparative case analysis

Analysis of the data entailed compiling multiple types of case studies for within case and comparative analysis. We first established within case analysis. These case studies included:

1. District Contexts (**context**).
2. Village Contexts (**context**).
3. Social Network Maps (**context and mechanism**).
4. CSO structure, strategy and activities, including collective action groups (**mechanism but also outcome in terms of improved agency and wellbeing for women**).
5. Pathways of influence, or village-level Stories of Change - which traced the processes underlying the ways in which women's collective action interacted with the context of each site to produce different outcomes for village development (**mechanism and outcome**).

Other analysis was also undertaken to supplement the comparative case analysis. This included:

6. Life histories to understand the individual agency of women activists and change agents (**context, mechanism and outcome**).
7. Observations of informal processes of women's empowerment (**mechanism and outcome**).
8. Thematic analysis of phenomena that were specific to particular villages, for example customary 'adat practices' were important in some of the villages (**context and mechanism**).

Of course, in practice, the distinction between contexts and outcomes is often fuzzy, as is the distinction between mechanisms (particularly related to interventions) and outcomes, as each iteratively interacts with the other over space and time. This context-mechanism-outcome approach was mainly used as a heuristic tool for targeting data collection to compile case studies, and for unpacking dynamics in different parts of the analysis.

For the analysis, we conducted comparative analysis across the 'cases'. This included a comparison between research sites where MAMPU had been present with sites where MAMPU had not been present ('control' sites). Case-specific village contexts, district contexts, social network maps, and some of the thematic pieces were compared across the sites to build a model of 'conduciveness for gender inclusion and women's empowerment'; that is, the **context**.

The **mechanisms** for bringing about women's empowerment and women's wellbeing outcomes were identified through the comparison of the CSOs and stories of change across the sites. These were also informed by the life histories, observations of informality and some of the thematic pieces, and from the cases of village-level Stories of Change. Again, the CSO approaches across the sites were compared to determine how the pathways for influencing women's empowerment and ultimately the Village Law. Comparisons were also made between intervention and control sites to identify which dimensions of change were more endogenous to the processes underway in Indonesian villages that have resulted from the implementation of the Village Law and which are a result of CSO activity.

The village cases and the cases of village-level Stories of Change were also categorised according to **outcome**; that is, the degree to which women's collective action had resulted in changes to the Village Law, Village Fund, village development or social norms which benefited women. The context-mechanism-outcome configurations for each case were mapped together. From this, patterns emerged from which recommendations for future women's empowerment work in Indonesia at the village level were identified.

These analysis processes were conducted iteratively, also involving MAMPU CSO Partners that were the focus of the study through an analysis workshop.

Annex 5: New Gender-focused Policies and Regulations in the Research Districts

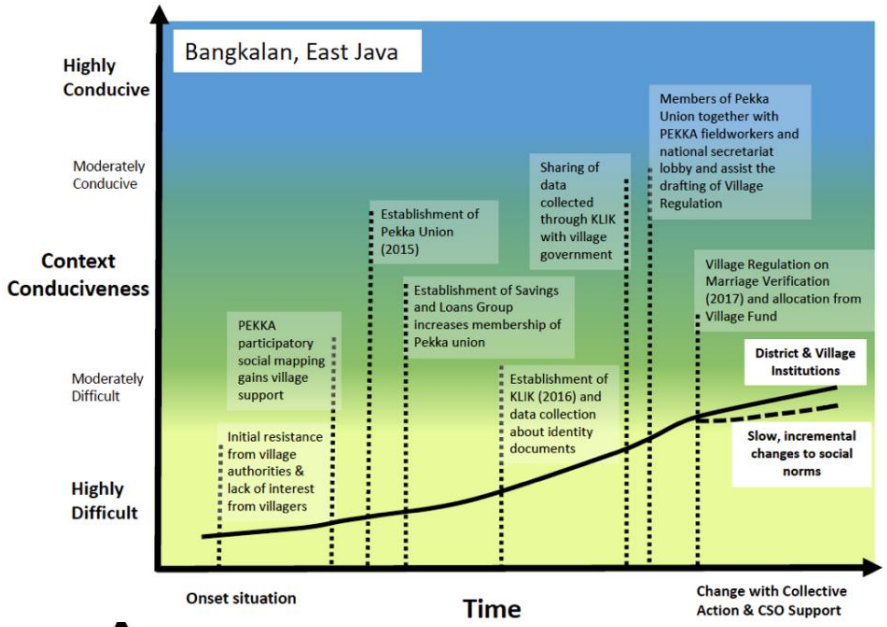
Context	Types of regulations created (PRE-2016)	Types of regulations created (2016-2019)
Moderately conducive contexts	**TANGGAMUS(Lampung) – DAMAR – FAKTA, PERMAMPU Consortium; Sector: Reducing Violence Against Women** ***Provincial/District*** • Agreement on Eliminating Violence Against Women and Children (Jan 6. **2003**) between the Head of the Community Health Department, the Chief Justice of the Provincial Court, the Provincial Police Chief, the Provincial Chief Prosecutor, Commanding Prosecutor of the Military Court, the Director of the Dr. H. Abdoel Moeloek Hospital, and the Executive Director of DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute (CSO). • Provincial Government Regulation No. 6 (**2006**) on Services for Women and Child Victims of Domestic Violence in Lampung Province. • Provincial Regulation No. 4/**2006** on the Prevention of Trafficking Women and Children. • Agreement on Eliminating Violence Against Women and Children between the Municipality between the Mayor, the Municipal Police Chief, the Chief Prosecutor, the Chief Justice of the Municipal Court, the Director of the A. Yani District Hospital and the Executive Director of DAMAR on 29 Aug. **2006**. • Agreement on Fulfilling the Rights of Women Between the Lampung Government and the Lampung Women's Movement (No. 503/2872/08), **2008**. • Established the Integrated Services Unit for Women and Child Protection and Empowerment, **2008.** • District Head Regulation No. B.02/23/12/**2010** on the Integrated Services Forum for Violence Against Women. • Joint agreement (**2015**) between the Tanggamus District Government, Tanggamus District Police, Kota Agung District Attorney, Kota Agung District Court, Bandar Lampung Penitentiary, Tanggamus District Office of Religious Affairs, P2TP2A "Lamban Ratu Agom" Tanggamus District, Tanggamus Child Protection Agency on Handling Violence against Women and Children. • Governor's Decision No. G/519/II/12/HK (**2016**) on Forming the Working Group for Women's Empowerment and the Protection of Women and Children in Social Conflict in Lampung Province from 2016-2019. • Agreement on between the DAMAR Women's Advocacy Institute and the Office of Religious Affairs in Gisting Subdistrict on counselling for victims of domestic violence and the role of religious leaders (ulama) in resolving gender-based injustice.	**TANGGAMUS (Lampung) – DAMAR – FAKTA, PERMAMPU Consortium; Sector: Reducing Violence Against Women** ***District*** • District Regulation No. 3 (**2017**) on Administering Family Resilience. • District Head Regulation No. 24 (**2017**) on the Formation of the Prevention and Handling of Human Trafficking Crimes Task Force in Tanggamus District. • District Head Regulation No. 23 (**2019**) on Village Budget Priorities in 2019. • District Head Regulation No. 2 (**2019**) on Optimisation of the Reduction of Stunting in Tanggamus District. • Various District Regulations – changing the name of the District Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency to incorporate other functions. ***Village*** • No Village Regulations specific to women's empowerment or sectoral issues.
	BANTUL in Yogyakarta – Yasanti – Sector: Improving Work Conditions • No Provincial/District Regulations that acknowledge the existence of homeworkers. • Similarly, at the national level, Law No. 13 Year 2003 on Labour does not acknowledge the term 'homeworkers'. Nonetheless, Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration Regulation No. 1, 2014 that revises Ministerial Regulation No. KEP.25-/MEN/XII/2008 on Data Classification and Characteristics of Labour Information Types, mentions the terms 'half-unemployment' and 'part-time workers', applicable to workers who work less than 35 hours a week.	**BANTUL in Yogyakarta – Yasanti – Sector: Improving Work Conditions** ***Provincial/District*** • The legislature in Yogyakarta Special Region (DPRD DIY) has conducted a study on the recognition and protection of homeworkers as a basis to develop the Draft Provincial Regulation on Informal Workers. • Government of Yogyakarta through the Regulations Bureau of the Regional Office of Manpower (Disnaker) has commenced drafting a Gubernatorial Regulation on Homeworkers expected to be completed by 2020. • Bantul District Agency of Manpower and Transmigration Letter No. 98/SPbr.3L/1/2017 dated 13 January 2017, formally recognises the registration of Women's Homeworkers Unions (Serikat Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan - SPPR). • Yogyakarta Provincial Agency of Manpower and Transmigration Head Decision No. 463/03508 (2017) on the Prosperity and Protection of the Women Homeworkers Movement. • Provincial government agenda to map the numbers of homeworkers in the province in 2020. ***Village*** • Village Head Decision No. 20 (2018) on the Formation of Committee and Registration of SPPR Kreatif Bunda.

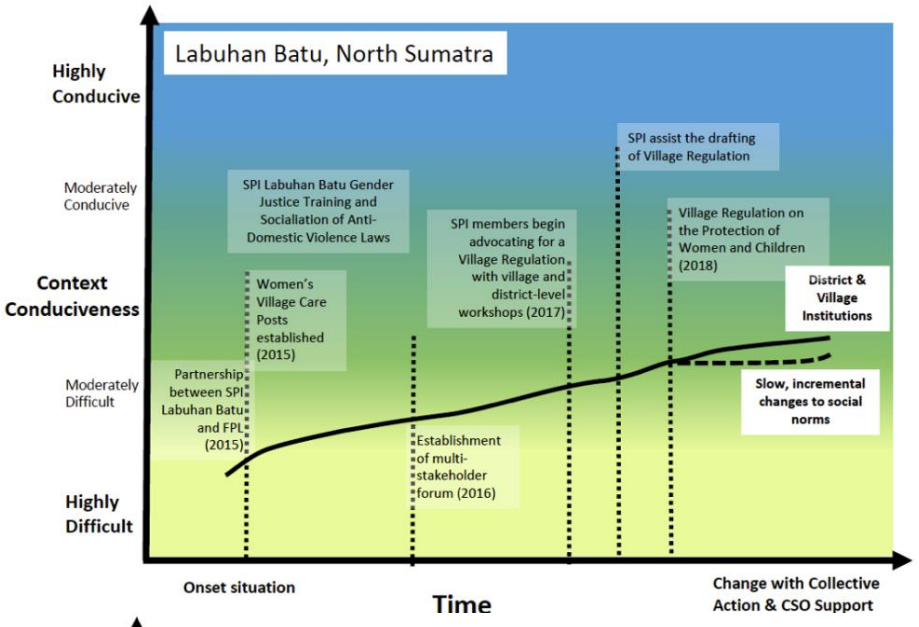
Context	Types of regulations created (PRE-2016)	Types of regulations created (2016-2019)
	NORTH HULU SUNGAI (HSU)District in South Kalimantan – PEKKA – Sector: Social Protection ***District*** • Formation of the District Agency for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in **2015** – tasked with implementing gender mainstreaming policies, increasing women's participation in development, domestic violence reduction and prevention, and ensuring the rights of the child are upheld. • District Head Regulation No. 38 (**2015**) on the Establishment of the Centre for Family Information and Consultation (with a monthly budget in 2016 of 271 million) tasked with reducing divorce rates, reducing child marriage and reducing domestic violence).	**NORTH HULU SUNGAI (HSU) District in South Kalimantan – PEKKA – Sector: Social Protection** ***District*** • District Government Regulation No. 3 (**2016**) on the Implementation of Protection for Women and Children. • District Head Decision No. 188.45/ 660 /KUM (**2016**) on the Establishment of the Family Learning Centre. • Partnership Agreement (**2016**) between District Agency for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. • District Head Decision No. 188.45/ 699/KUM (**2017**) on Tutors for Women's Empowerment and the Prevention of Domestic Violence Against Women and Children in the District Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency – establishing 40 tutors to undertake initiatives to reduce domestic violence. • District Government Regulation No. 5 (**2017**) on Village Government, stipulating that at least 1 of the members of BPD must be female. • Partnership Agreement (**2019**) between District Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. • The 2017-2022 District Medium Term Development Plan aims to increase community awareness on issues related to women's empowerment and child protection. ***Village*** • Village Regulation No. 4 (**2015**) on Establishing 'Welfare-based" Village-owned Enterprises (Badan Usaha Milik Desa "Sejahtera") in the HSU research village.
Moderately difficult contexts	**EAST LOMBOK (NTB)—BaKTI: Reducing Violence Against Women** ***District*** • District Head Decision No. 188.45/471/PPKB (**2010**) on Free Health and Medico-Legal Report Services for Victims of Violence Against Women and Children in East Lombok. • District Head Decision No 188.45/482/PPKB (**2010**) on Forming an Integrated Services Unit for the Empowerment of Women and Children to support Victims of Violence in East Lombok. • District Regulation No. 9 (**2013**) on Protecting Victims of Human Trafficking and Violence Against Women and Children. • District Head Regulation No. 10 (**2014**) on the Participation of Women Beneficiaries in the Community-based Gender Evaluation of Poverty Eradication Programs.	**EAST LOMBOK (NTB) - BaKTI; Sector: Reducing Violence Against Women** ***District*** • District Head Regulation No. 37 (**2017**) on Local Curriculum Content. This regulation facilitates the children of migrant workers access education up to junior high school level and to access non-formal education, including education on women's empowerment and equality. • District Head Decision No 188.45/333/P3AKB (**2019**) on the Formation of the District Regulation Drafting Team for Gender Mainstreaming in the East Lombok Women and Child Protection, Empowerment, and Family Planning Agency. ***Village*** • Research Village Regulation No. 4 (**2018**) on the Protection of Women and Children in the East Lombok research village.
	GRESIK (East Java) – KAPAL Perempuan – KP2SK – Sector: Social Protection ***District*** • District Head Regulation No. 34 (**2006**) on the Integrated Service Centre for Women and Child Protection. • District Regulation No. 17 (**2011**) on the Protection of Women and Child Victims of Violence. • District Head Regulation No. 4 (**2012**) Gender Mainstreaming and Regional Development - this regulation outlined the framework for sectoral agencies to ensure development planning and budgeting was gender responsive. Similar aspects were included in the Vision and Mission for Gresik District **2016-2021** and in **2016** what was a small office was upgraded to the full sectoral agency on Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection.	**GRESIK (East Java) – KAPAL Perempuan – KP2SK – Sector: Social Protection** ***District*** • District Head Regulation No. 56 (**2016**) on Position, Organisational Structure, Tasks, Functions and Work Procedures for the Family Planning, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency (KBPPPA). • Special District Development Planning Forum established for women (**2017** onwards). ***Village*** • No Village Regulations related to substantive programs or gender empowerment in either the village supported by KP2SK (MAMPU Partner) or the control site where there is no such CSO advocacy.
	CIREBON (West Java) – 'Aisyiyah – Sector: Women's Health and Nutrition ***Village*** • Written Agreement between the Village Residents, the 'Aisyiyah 'BSA' group, the 'Aisyiyah Branch Office, and the Village Head of the Research Village Head, December 10, **2014 –** similar written agreements were signed between the village groups, the 'Aisyiyah Branch Office and Village Heads in the four other villages where 'Aisyiyah worked with MAMPU support in December 2014.	**CIREBON (West Java) – 'Aisyiyah – Sector: Women's Health and Nutrition** ***District*** • MoU between the Cirebon District Health Agency and 'Aisyiyah on Improving Services for Women's Reproductive Health (040/A-PDA/10/**2016**). • District Regulation No. 1 (**2018**) on 'Protection and Empowerment of Women and Children' - mainly focused on protection and prevention of women and children from violence, service provision for victims of (domestic) violence, and prevention of child marriage. • Official Circular of the District Head Agency on Exclusive Breastfeeding (554/Dinkes-PK/Sek-I/II/**2018**).

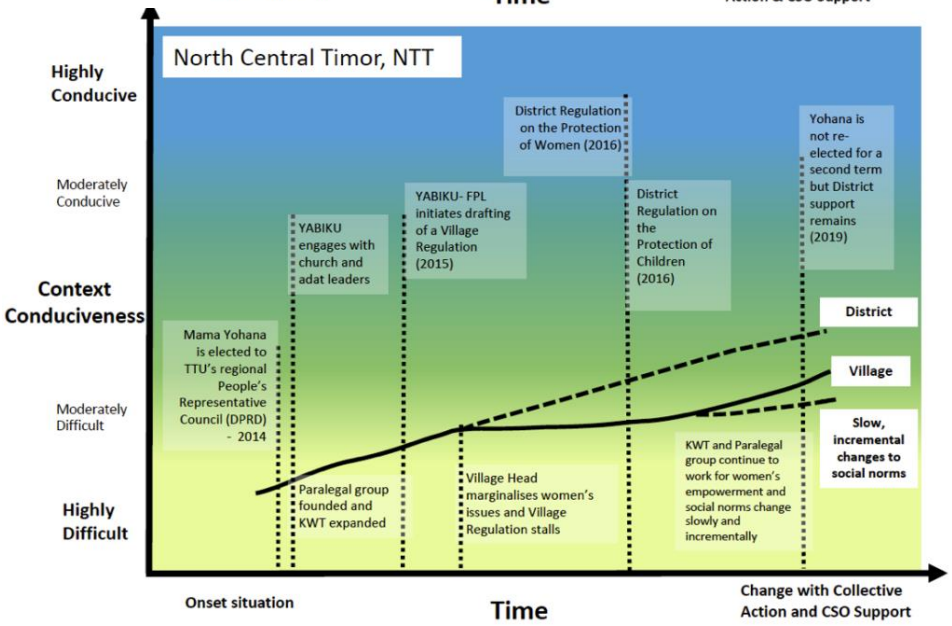
Context	Types of regulations created (PRE-2016)	Types of regulations created (2016-2019)
		• Official Circular of the District Head Agency on Improving Reproductive Health Services through Pap Smear (IVA) Services and the Implementation Clinical Breast Screening Services (553/Dinkes-PK/Sek-I/II/**2018**). ***Subdistrict*** • Decision of the Head of the Subdistrict Community Health Clinic (Puskesmas) on the Formation of a Palliative care Team in the Puskesmas, October, 24 **2018.** • Subdistrict Head Decision on the Research Subdistrict Palliative Care Team (440/Kep 02./Kec Tahun **2018**) ***Village*** • Village Regulation No. 7 (**2017**) on the Management of Reproductive Health in the Cirebon research village.
	CENTRAL LOMBOK (West Nusa Tenggara – NTB) – Migrant CARE/Panca Karsa – Sector: Migrant Workers • District Regulation No. 3 (**2009**) on the Protection of Child and Women Victims of Domestic Violence	**CENTRAL LOMBOK (West Nusa Tenggara – NTB) Migrant Care/Panca Karsa – Sector: Migrant Workers** ***Provincial/District*** • West Nusa Tenggara Provincial Government Regulation No.1 (**2016**) on the Protection of Migrant Workers—developed with the support of Panca Karsa • District Government Regulation No. 1 (**2017**) on the Protection of Central Lombok Migrant Workers—while providing general protections for migrant workers, special considerations for women (such as health checks for women must be undertaken by female medics, and recruiting companies cannot recruit female migrant workers with children aged under 2 years old). ***Village*** • Village Regulation No. 4 on the Protection of Indonesian Overseas Migrant Workers (**2015**) in the Central Lombok research village.
	DELI SERDANG, (North Sumatra) – BITRA – Sector: Improving Working Conditions • Before 2016, there is no evidence of any Provincial/District Regulations related to the protection of homeworkers.	**DELI SERDANG (NORTH SUMATRA) – BITRA – Sector: Improving Working Conditions** ***Provincial/District*** • In North Sumatra, the provincial government has listed a Draft Regulation on Employment (Ranperda Ketenagakerjaan) on the 2018 planned provincial legislative list (Prolegda), which includes the protection of homeworkers. The District Regulation on Employment was drafted in 2016. While the draft was agreed at provincial level in 2019, the term 'homeworkers' was replaced with 'independent workers'. • District Head Regulation No. 19 (2018) on Integrated Referral Service System for People Living with Poverty, that also provides homeworkers with access for social protection programs. • The registration of SPR Sejahtera sector-based homeworkers union with the Manpower Agency was submitted in 2015. In 2017, the Manpower Agency handed the registration letter to SPR North Sumatra as a formal recognition. ***Village*** • SPR Sejahtera is involved in various development planning forums in the village.
Difficult contexts	**PANGKAJENE ISLANDS – Pangkep (South Sulawesi) KAPAL Perempuan – YKPM– Sector: Social Protection; and 'Aisyiyah – Sector: Women's Health and Nutrition** ***District*** • Before 2016, there is no evidence of any regulations that are gender related or related to women's rights. One policy encouraged more access to education for girls in general - District Head Instruction No. 440/125/24 (December **2005**) on Free Education.	**PANGKAJENE ISLANDS – Pangkep (South Sulawesi) - KAPAL Perempuan – YKPM – Sector: Social Protection; and 'Aisyiyah – Sector: Women's Health and Nutrition** ***District*** • District Agency for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection formed around **2016**. • District Head Regulation No. 9 (**2018**) on General Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Pangkep District Development. • District Head Decision No. 556 (**2018**) on Determining the Locations for the Replication of Women's Schools (Sekolah Perempuan) in Pangkep District in 2018. • District Head Decision No. 557 (**2018**) on Forming the Implementing Committee and Support Persons for the Replication of Women's Schools in Pangkep District in 2018. • District Head Regulation No 65 (**2017**) on Initiating Early and Exclusive Breastfeeding. • District Head Decision No. 300 (**2017**) on Determining the Locations for the Replication of Women's Schools.

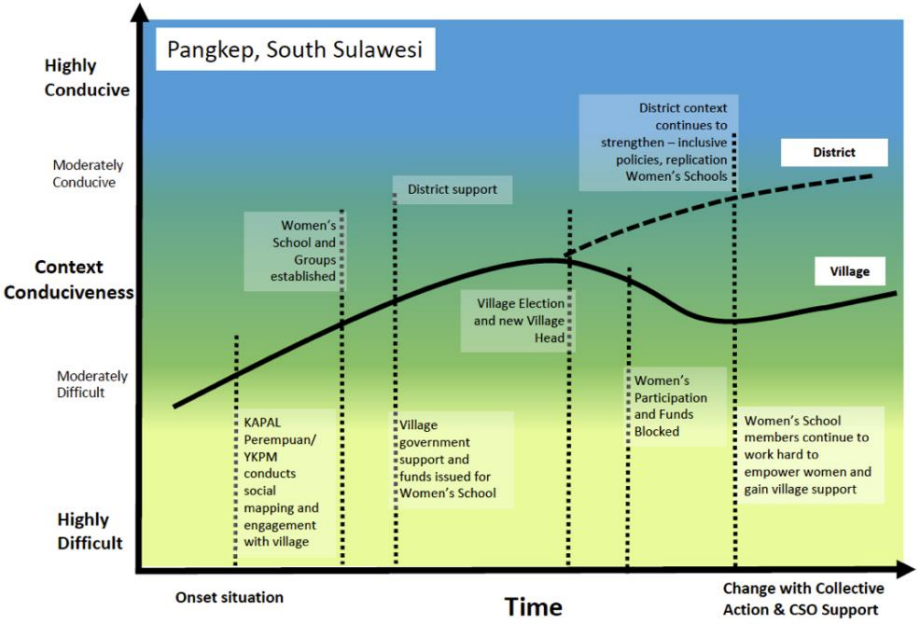
Context	Types of regulations created (PRE-2016)	Types of regulations created (2016-2019)
		• District Head Decision No. 368 (**2017**) on Forming the Implementation Team for Data Collection on Gender and Child 2017-2021. ***Village*** • No Village Regulations issued yet related to substantive programs or gender empowerment in either the village supported by YKPM and KAPAL Perempuan (MAMPU Partners) or the control village where there is no such CSO advocacy.
	NORTH CENTRAL TIMOR - TTU (NTT) – FPL – YABIKU – Sector: Reducing Violence Against Women ***Village*** DRAFT Village Regulation (**2015**) on the Protection of Women and Children in the TTU Research Village.	**NORTH CENTRAL TIMOR - TTU (NTT) – FPL – YABIKU – Sector: Reducing Violence Against Women** ***District*** • Formation of the District Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency (DP3A) in **2016**. • District Regulation No. 14 (**2016**) on the Implementation of Protection for Women District Regulation No. 15 (**2017**) about the Implementation of Protection for Children. • District Head Letter of Request (**2018**) on the Implementation of Protection for Women and Children. ***Village*** • Significant advocacy to pass the 2015 draft Village Regulation, but since the district level regulations have passed, village authorities deem a village-specific regulation is no longer necessary and efforts have stalled.
	LABUHAN BATU (North Sumatra) – FPL – SPI – Sector: Reducing Violence Against Women ***District*** • District Regulation No. 5 (**2015**) on the Administration of Child Protection.	**LABUHAN BATU (North Sumatra) – FPL – SPI – Sector: Reducing Violence Against Women** ***Village-only*** • Village Head Decision No. 141/14/PBT (**2017**) on the Formation of Community-based Services for the Protection of Women and Child Victims of Violence in the research village. • Village Regulation No. 2 (**2018**) on the Administration of Protection for Women and Child Victims of Violence in the Labuhan Batu research village.
	BANGKALAN (East Java) – PEKKA – Sector: Social Protection ***District*** • District Regulation No. 6 (**2009**) on the Administration of the Protection of Women and Child Victims of Domestic Violence.	**BANGKALAN (East Java) – PEKKA – Sector: Social Protection** ***Village-only*** Village level only—Village Regulation (**2017**) on Marriage Verification (Itsbat Nikah) in the Bangkalan research village**.**

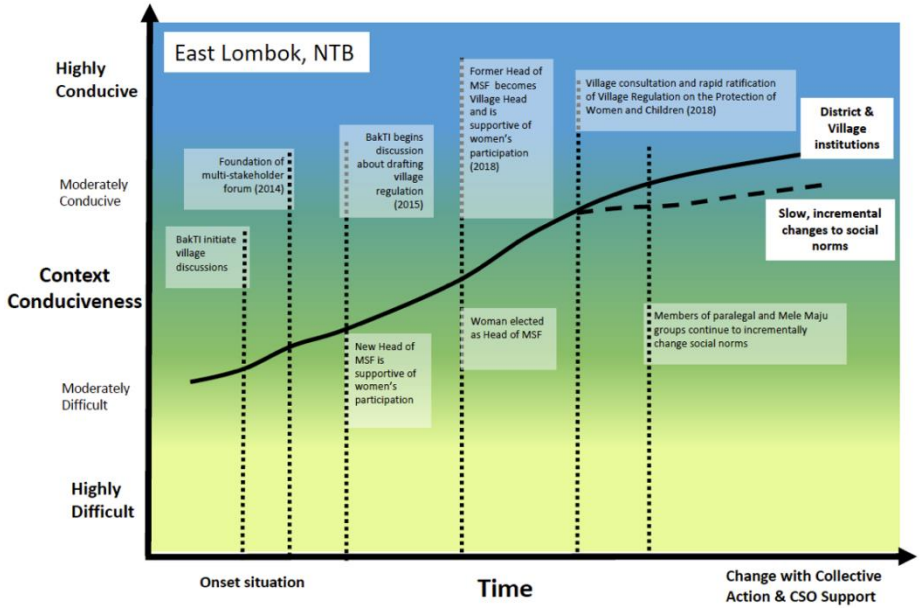
Annex 6: Trajectories of Change in Village Contexts Over Time

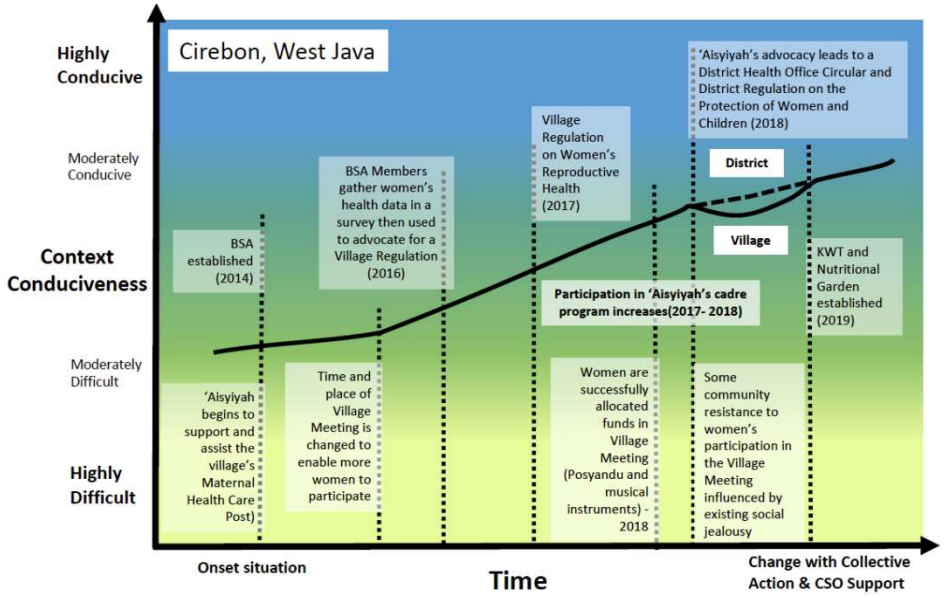

Bangkalan, East Java
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
PEKKA participatory social mapping gains village support
Initial resistance from village authorities & lack of interest from villagers
Establishment of Pekka Union (2015)
Establishment of Savings and Loans Group increases membership of Pekka union
Establishment of KLIK (2016) and data collection about identity documents
Sharing of data collected through KLIK with village government
Members of Pekka Union together with PEKKA fieldworkers and national secretariat lobby and assist the drafting of Village Regulation
Village Regulation on Marriage Verification (2017) and allocation from Village Fund
District & Village Institutions
Slow, incremental changes to social norms
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support

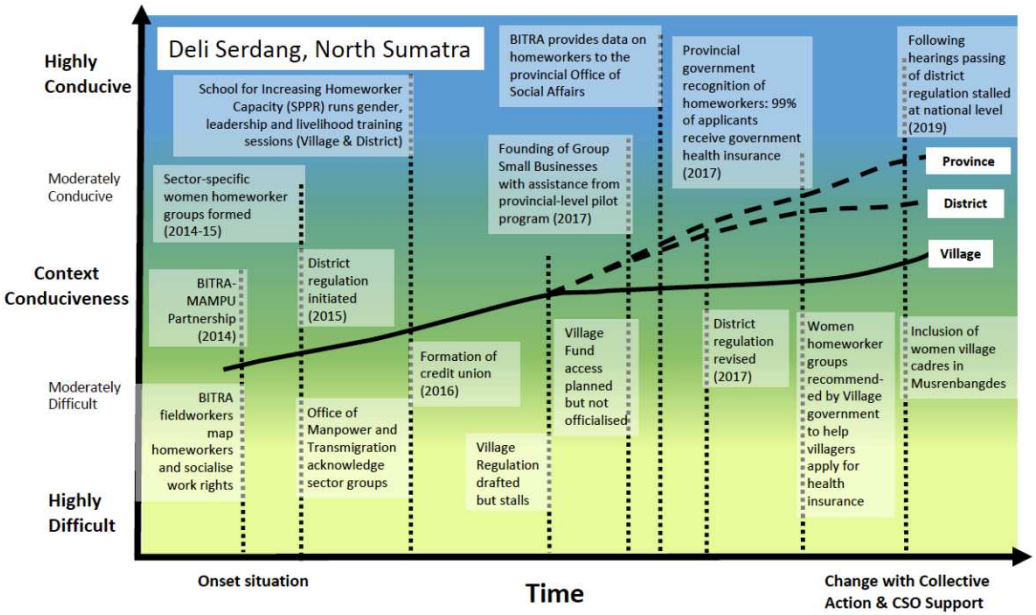

Labuhan Batu, North Sumatra
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
Partnership between SPI Labuhan Batu and FPL (2015)
Women's Village Care Posts established (2015)
SPI Labuhan Batu Gender Justice Training and Socialiation of Anti-Domestic Violence Laws
Establishment of multi-stakeholder forum (2016)
SPI members begin advocating for a Village Regulation with village and district-level workshops (2017)
SPI assist the drafting of Village Regulation
Village Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children (2018)
District & Village Institutions
Slow, incremental changes to social norms
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support

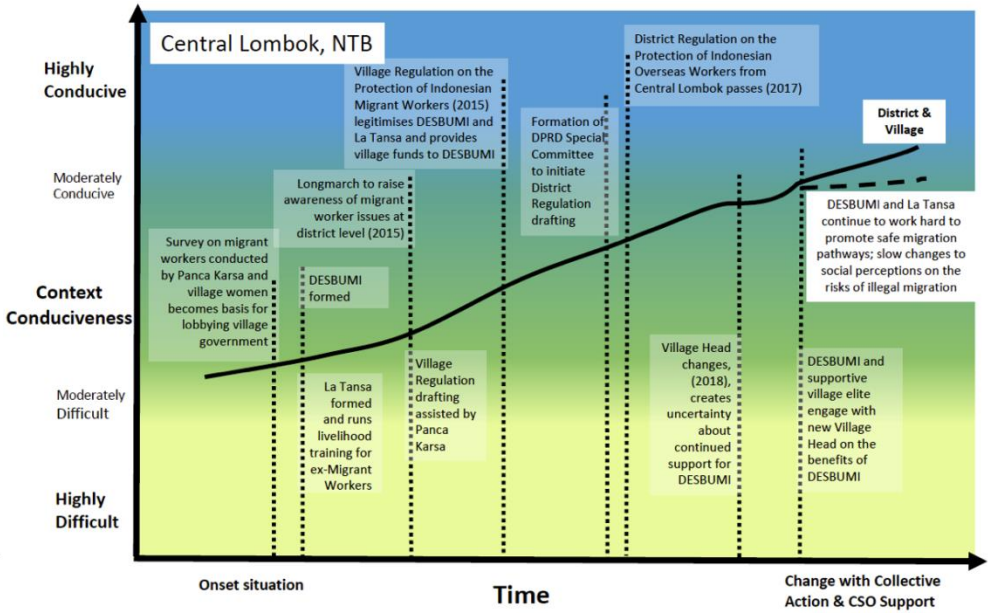

North Central Timor, NTT
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
Mama Yohana is elected to TTU's regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) - 2014
YABIKU engages with church and adat leaders
Paralegal group founded and KWT expanded
YABIKU- FPL initiates drafting of a Village Regulation (2015)
Village Head marginalises women's issues and Village Regulation stalls
District Regulation on the Protection of Women (2016)
District Regulation on the Protection of Children (2016)
KWT and Paralegal group continue to work for women's empowerment and social norms change slowly and incrementally
Yohana is not re-elected for a second term but District support remains (2019)
District
Village
Slow, incremental changes to social norms
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action and CSO Support

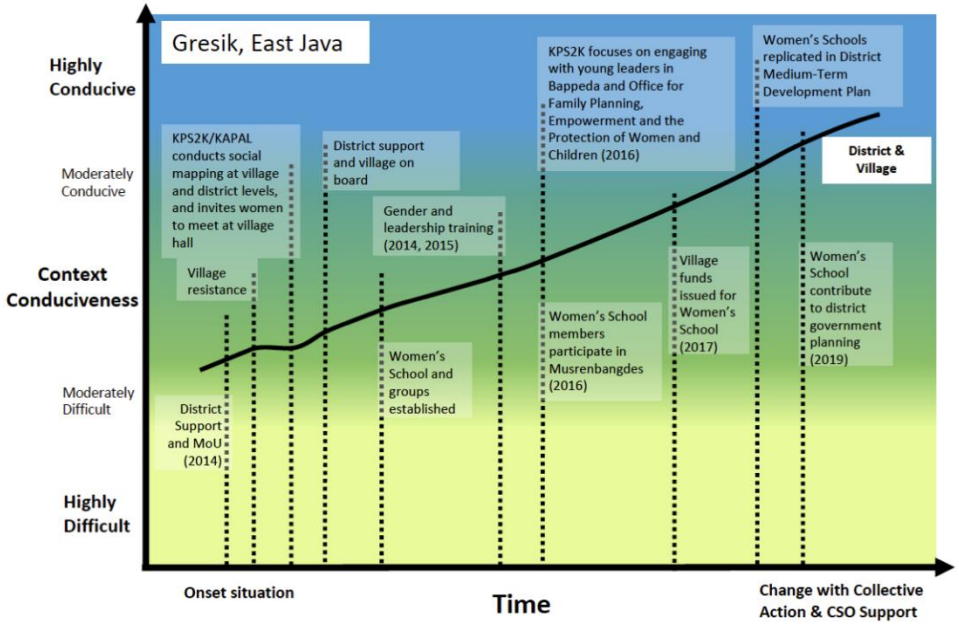

Pangkep, South Sulawesi
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
KAPAL Perempuan/ YKPM conducts social mapping and engagement with village
Women's School and Groups established
District support
Village government support and funds issued for Women's School
Village Election and new Village Head
District context continues to strengthen – inclusive policies, replication Women's Schools
Women's Participation and Funds Blocked
Women's School members continue to work hard to empower women and gain village support
District
Village
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support

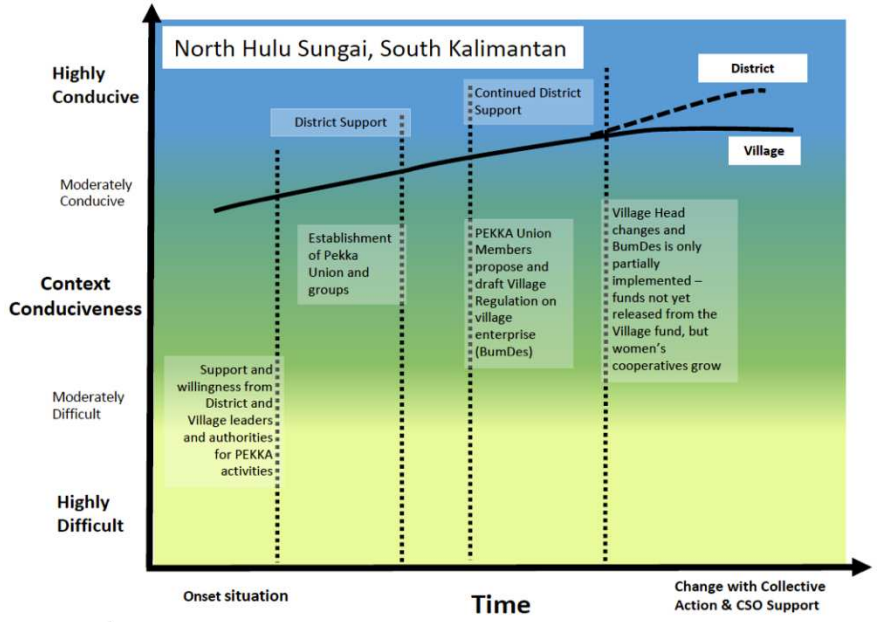

East Lombok, NTB
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
Foundation of multi-stakeholder forum (2014)
BakTI initiate village discussions
BakTI begins discussion about drafting village regulation (2015)
New Head of MSF is supportive of women's participation
Former Head of MSF becomes Village Head and is supportive of women's participation (2018)
Woman elected as Head of MSF
Village consultation and rapid ratification of Village Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children (2018)
Members of paralegal and Mele Maju groups continue to incrementally change social norms
District & Village institutions
Slow, incremental changes to social norms
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support

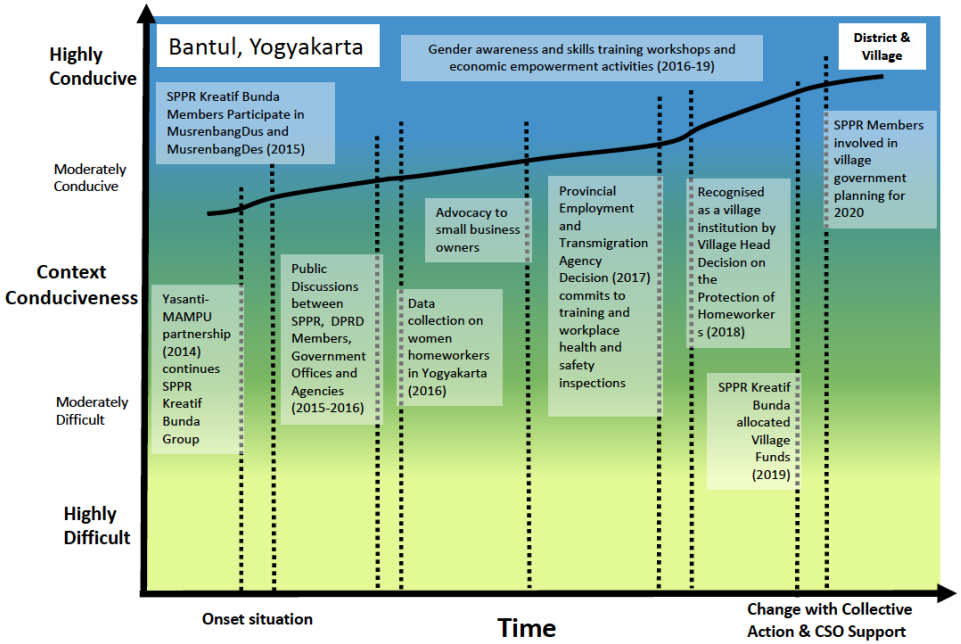

Cirebon, West Java
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
BSA established (2014)
'Aisyiyah begins to support and assist the village's Maternal Health Care Post)
BSA Members gather women's health data in a survey then used to advocate for a Village Regulation (2016)
Time and place of Village Meeting is changed to enable more women to participate
Village Regulation on Women's Reproductive Health (2017)
'Aisyiyah's advocacy leads to a District Health Office Circular and District Regulation on the Protection of Women and Children (2018)
Participation in 'Aisyiyah's cadre program increases(2017- 2018)
Women are successfully allocated funds in Village Meeting (Posyandu and musical instruments) - 2018
Some community resistance to women's participation in the Village Meeting influenced by existing social jealousy
District
Village
KWT and Nutritional Garden established (2019)
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support

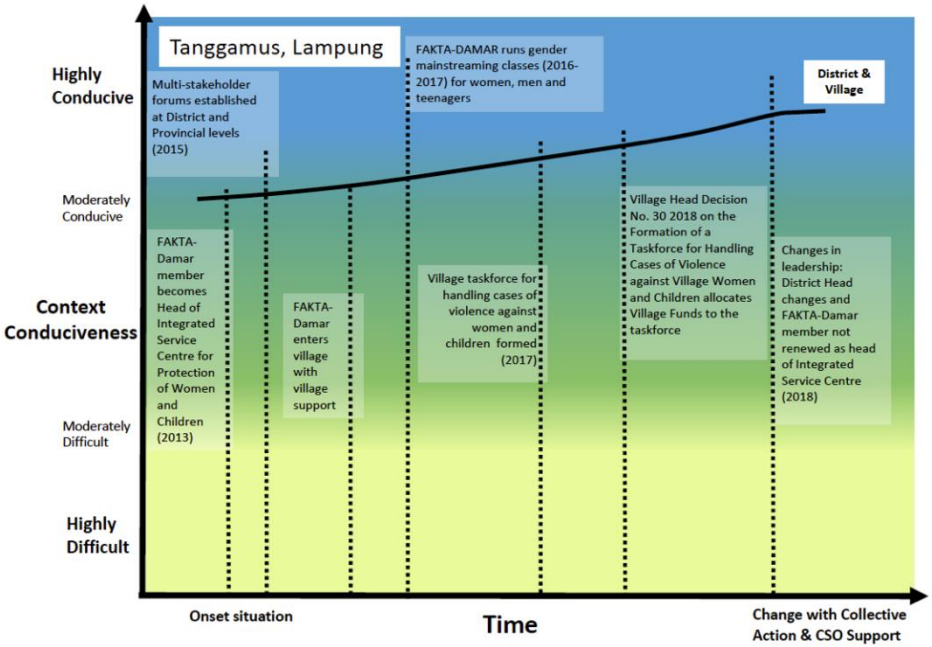

Deli Serdang, North Sumatra
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
School for Increasing Homeworker Capacity (SPPR) runs gender, leadership and livelihood training sessions (Village & District)
Sector-specific women homeworker groups formed (2014-15)
BITRA-MAMPU Partnership (2014)
BITRA fieldworkers map homeworkers and socialise work rights
District regulation initiated (2015)
Office of Manpower and Transmigration acknowledge sector groups
BITRA provides data on homeworkers to the provincial Office of Social Affairs
Formation of credit union (2016)
Village Regulation drafted but stalls
Founding of Group Small Businesses with assistance from provincial-level pilot program (2017)
Village Fund access planned but not officialised
Provincial government recognition of homeworkers: 99% of applicants receive government health insurance (2017)
District regulation revised (2017)
Women homeworker groups recommend-ed by Village government to help villagers apply for health insurance
Following hearings passing of district regulation stalled at national level (2019)
Inclusion of women village cadres in Musrenbangdes
Province
District
Village
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support


Central Lombok, NTB
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
Survey on migrant workers conducted by Panca Karsa and village women becomes basis for lobbying village government
Longmarch to raise awareness of migrant worker issues at district level (2015)
DESBUMI formed
La Tansa formed and runs livelihood training for ex-Migrant Workers
Village Regulation on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (2015) legitimises DESBUMI and La Tansa and provides village funds to DESBUMI
Village Regulation drafting assisted by Panca Karsa
Formation of DPRD Special Committee to initiate District Regulation drafting
District Regulation on the Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers from Central Lombok passes (2017)
Village Head changes, (2018), creates uncertainty about continued support for DESBUMI
DESBUMI and La Tansa continue to work hard to promote safe migration pathways; slow changes to social perceptions on the risks of illegal migration
DESBUMI and supportive village elite engage with new Village Head on the benefits of DESBUMI
District & Village
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support


Gresik, East Java
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
KPS2K/KAPAL conducts social mapping at village and district levels, and invites women to meet at village hall
District support and village on board
Gender and leadership training (2014, 2015)
KPS2K focuses on engaging with young leaders in Bappeda and Office for Family Planning, Empowerment and the Protection of Women and Children (2016)
Women's Schools replicated in District Medium-Term Development Plan
District & Village
Village resistance
Women's School members participate in Musrenbangdes (2016)
Village funds issued for Women's School (2017)
Women's School contribute to district government planning (2019)
Women's School and groups established
District Support and MoU (2014)
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support


North Hulu Sungai, South Kalimantan
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
District
Village
District Support
Continued District Support
Establishment of Pekka Union and groups
PEKKA Union Members propose and draft Village Regulation on village enterprise (BumDes)
Village Head changes and BumDes is only partially implemented – funds not yet released from the Village fund, but women's cooperatives grow
Support and willingness from District and Village leaders and authorities for PEKKA activities
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support


Bantul, Yogyakarta
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
Gender awareness and skills training workshops and economic empowerment activities (2016-19)
District & Village
SPPR Kreatif Bunda Members Participate in MusrenbangDus and MusrenbangDes (2015)
SPPR Members involved in village government planning for 2020
Advocacy to small business owners
Provincial Employment and Transmigration Agency Decision (2017) commits to training and workplace health and safety inspections
Recognised as a village institution by Village Head Decision on the Protection of Homeworkers (2018)
Yasanti-MAMPU partnership (2014) continues SPPR Kreatif Bunda Group
Public Discussions between SPPR, DPRD Members, Government Offices and Agencies (2015-2016)
Data collection on women homeworkers in Yogyakarta (2016)
SPPR Kreatif Bunda allocated Village Funds (2019)
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support


Tanggamus, Lampung
Highly Conducive
Moderately Conducive
Context Conduciveness
Moderately Difficult
Highly Difficult
Multi-stakeholder forums established at District and Provincial levels (2015)
FAKTA-DAMAR runs gender mainstreaming classes (2016-2017) for women, men and teenagers
District & Village
Village Head Decision No. 30 2018 on the Formation of a Taskforce for Handling Cases of Violence against Village Women and Children allocates Village Funds to the taskforce
Changes in leadership: District Head changes and FAKTA-Damar member not renewed as head of Integrated Service Centre (2018)
FAKTA-Damar member becomes Head of Integrated Service Centre for Protection of Women and Children (2013)
FAKTA-Damar enters village with village support
Village taskforce for handling cases of violence against women and children formed (2017)
Onset situation
Time
Change with Collective Action & CSO Support

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www.mampu.or.id @ProgramMAMPU info@mampu.or.id